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THE

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED AT NEW-YORK, MAY 6, 1851 ;

WITH

THE ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS.

New-York :

PUBLISHED BY THE AM. & FOR. ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WILLIAM HARNED, OFFICE AGENT, 48 BEEKMAN STREET.

1851.

Annual Meeting.

THE Eleventh Annual Meeting of the AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, on Tuesday, May 6th, 1851, at 3 o'clock P. M. The chair was occupied by ARTHUR TAPPAN, President of the Society.

The 94th Psalm was read in a very impressive manner by Rev. Dr. Lansing.

A fervent prayer was then offered by Rev. CHARLES W. GARDINER.

An abstract of the Annual Report was read by LEWIS TAPPAN, Corresponding Secretary. After which Rev. S. E. CORNISH offered the following Resolution, which was adopted :

Resolved, That the Annual Report, of which an abstract has been read, be accepted, and that the same be referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

The Corresponding Secretary then presented, in behalf of the Executive Committee, a set of RESOLUTIONS, which were adopted by the Meeting, as follows :

Resolved, That American Slavery is the most sinful, cruel and merciless system that has prevailed in any civilized country, inasmuch as, under the light of the gospel, it deprives men, not only guiltless, but unaccused of crime, of every civil and religious right; denies them legal compensation for any wrong, however grievous; annihilates in regard to them the conjugal and parental relations; consigns them at pleasure to heathenism; withholds from them the Bible; and reduces them to the condition of brutes.

Resolved, That it is our right to condemn, and by lawful means to abolish sinful institutions, wherever existing; that it is the peculiar right of American citizens to express, orally or through the press, their opinions of the conduct of their representatives, and of the laws passed by them; and that every attempt to prevent or control the free expression of opinion is an outrage upon the constitutional rights of the citizen, and a dangerous assault upon the liberties of the country.

Resolved, That we have never proposed to abolish slavery by any unconstitutional act, nor to infringe upon the rights of the States; our Doctrine being Universal Emancipation without compensation, and our Measures, under God, Moral Suasion and the Ballot Box.

Resolved, That we deem the Fugitive Slave Bill unconstitutional and inhuman, a disgrace to the country, an outrage upon civil liberty, deserving the reprobation of every friend of God and man; and that it should be disobeyed by every person who is not willing, and does not deserve, to wear the chain and submit to the lash of Southern despots.

Resolved, That every man who has taken an oath to support the Constitution of the United States, and who believes the Fugitive Slave Bill unconstitutional, is solemnly bound to oppose this enactment; and that, in the language of Mr. Justice

McLean, "An unconstitutional act of Congress imposes no obligation on a State, or the people of a State, and may be resisted by an individual or community."

Resolved, That we believe that the late act of Congress for the recovery of Fugitive Slaves makes demands upon individuals to which they cannot yield obedience without a direct violation of the principles of love, mercy, and justice, given by the Saviour to his disciples; and that those professed ministers of the Redeemer who teach obedience to this law are false teachers, and unfaithful to the high and holy profession they have assumed.

Resolved, That the attempt of the Slave Power to enforce an alleged Constitutional provision with regard to Fugitive Slaves, while it sets at naught an undisputed constitutional provision with reference to colored seamen, is an apt illustration of the mode in which the South understands and fulfils the "compromises" of the Constitution, and the manner in which, aided and abetted by Northern allies, it has governed the country for the last half century.

Resolved, That the audacious attempt made to convert the Free States into a great hunting-ground for Fugitive Slaves has inspired an unutterable disgust toward the accursed system of which it is an off-shoot, and awakened a deep sympathy for the bondman that will, we believe, insure a repeal of the Bill, the political death of its framers and abettors, and a vast increase of the anti-slavery sentiment of the nation.

Resolved, That notwithstanding the temporary triumph of the Slave Power, in consequence of the treachery or apostasy of Northern Politicians, Merchants who sell their principles with their goods, and pro-slavery preachers, the People of the Free States have, it is hoped, ceased to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to the oligarchy of the South, or their allies the dough-faces of the North.

Resolved, That we exult in the election of the Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, to the office of United States Senator, as the triumph of a glorious cause, achieved in the person of one who will not, it is believed, barter his fair fame for gold or office, or ever prove treacherous to the principles of liberty, the cause of the slave, or the true interests of the country.

Resolved, That we are the friends of the Union and the Constitution, and will labor to have them sustained according to the well-known intentions of the patriots of the Revolution, but that we do not desire their continuance, if perverted to the destruction of Freedom and Religion.

Resolved, That we are the friends of a true Republican Government, of a Free Christianity, and of the Equal Rights of men, in opposition to Cotton Whiggery, Cotton Democracy, and Cotton Theology, and that we welcome to our ranks men of every sect and party who are in favor of a righteous Civil Government, the abolition of Caste, the downfall of Oppression, and the supremacy of the Divine Law.

Resolved, That we will not bestow our suffrages on any candidate for office who we have reason to believe would, if elected, exert his influence to maintain and enforce the Fugitive Slave Bill, oppress the People of Color, or refuse, at any time, to cast his vote for Freedom and against Slavery.

Resolved, That the thanks of the community are due to the liberty-loving members of Congress and State Legislatures, ministers of the gospel, and conductors of the press, who have advocated the cause of human rights, proclaimed the law of the living God, and been true to the instincts of Humanity, in despite of the combined influence of Wealth and Power, and the opposition of pro-slavery men in Church and State.

Resolved, That we sympathize with the oppressed of every clime, and especially with those of our own country, and promise them our succor in all times of their distress, according to the Golden Rule.

Resolved, That the agitation of the Slavery question has not ceased, nor will it in our opinion cease, until the great stain upon the national escutcheon is removed, and the Higher Law gains ascendancy in the councils of the nation.

Resolved, That we rejoice in the formation of Anti-Slavery Societies of similar principles, and wish Godspeed to every effort to diffuse information, succor the distressed, bring about the emancipation of the enslaved, and the removal of prejudice against the free people of color, in a way consonant with Truth, Justice, and Christianity.

Resolved, That we tender our thanks to the free and hospitable inhabitants of Canada for the succor and relief they have so generously bestowed upon our countrymen who have fled from oppression, sought an asylum among them, and placed themselves under the protection of British law and philanthropy.

Resolved, That we renewedly and fervently commend the great cause of Human Freedom to the care and protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to inspire all who labor for emancipation with wisdom from on high, to grant them a spirit of prayer, an exhibition of meekness, fidelity, perseverance, and confidence in His promise that the rod of the oppressor shall be broken and the oppressed go free.

The meeting was then addressed by the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, substantially as follows :

Mr. President and Fellow-Citizens :—I do not forget in appearing before you the profession to which I belong, nor do I misapprehend, I think, the complexion of this audience, when I suppose by far the greater number of them are religious persons ; and to me as a minister of the gospel, and to you I presume as Christians or Christianly educated, the moral aspects of the question of slavery will be the most important and the most interesting. I shall not speak on this subject from the stand-point of the politician, nor shall I regard it, weighty as are the considerations, from the stand-point of the commercialist, nor even the philanthropist as such ; but as a man that believes in God, in the immortality of the soul, in the rational and accountable nature of every man that lives, an accountability enhanced immensely by the gospel ; as a minister of the gospel preaching to accountable beings such an immortality in behalf of God manifested in the flesh ; as such a one I think upon the subject of slavery, I ponder its evils and its tendencies, and as such a one I feel deeply interested to speak to you concerning this gigantic, this massive evil. I apprehend, fellow-citizens, that if it were put to vote in this great audience—I had almost said in this great metropolis—there scarcely would be one dissenting voice that slavery, looked at through and through, up and down, from core to skin and from skin back again to core, that slavery is an evil. I believe no man in his senses would pronounce it not to be an evil. I believe that every man would agree that it is an evil contrary to the spirit of religion, and no man would admit that it was not contrary to the spirit of democratic institutions. I believe that every man would say that it is an evil which stands up in this nation solitary, gaunt, hideous, finding no sympathy in our laws and institutions as republicans, no sympathy in our religion as Christians, and no sympathy in our citizens as philanthropists. It is therefore a matter worthy of preliminary consideration how such an evil should have gained root-room, and have gained such extension, that it has already become a matter of fear lest it should eat out the precious liberties bequeathed to us by our forefathers. Look at it in that point of view. The world never saw such a wonder as American slavery existing against custom, against public sentiment, against religious institutions, against our Constitution which was founded for the promotion of liberty, against the spirit of our history, against the strife of our forefathers, against the breath of religion, and against the providence of God. How could such an evil have so advanced upon us, as to make inroads upon the shore, beating down dikes, and more and more sweeping its waves onward and overwhelming every thing in its destructive course ? How could it have been ? Why, it may be said, though this is an imperfect explanation, that there is in every man an essential love of irresponsible power. I take it that monarchical governments do not make kings ; I take it that in civil affairs every man has an old king's heart under his ribs ; and in ecclesiastical affairs it is the lot of poor human nature for every man to have a pope's heart under his ribs. If we could have our own way we should exclaim, I am master and you are my slave. This spirit is not the result of the political institutions ; it precedes and forms them. Power is sweet, and once obtained, the hand almost irresistibly holds on to it. It would be enough to say in respect to our land that slavery, being forced upon us as it was in our youthful days, *after* we had become the possessors of slaves, was fastened upon us by the love of power, and we refused to give it up.

But there came up other causes than these ; for such was the strife and influence of religion against slavery in its early days that it began to relax its hold, and the prospect, at the adoption of the Constitution and confederation of our States, was that slavery would be like late snows in April, soon melted away. In the North, it soon disappeared, and the universal expectation was that it would soon go in the South ; otherwise there never could have been what are termed the "compromises of the Constitution." Yet there came a turn of affairs in which there came to be commercial profits connected ; with slavery there came to be the cultivation of rice, cotton and sugar ; and the value of slaves rose in the market on account of the rise in value of these products ; and thus, when slavery was on the very eve of being

abolished in our land, it was again rejuvenated and restrengthened, because it became commercially profitable to strengthen it; and although commerce is acknowledging the influence and power of Christianity, it is feared, so weak is human nature, that where there is a prospect of large gains nothing can restrain the aggressions of commerce. It is yet true as it once was that the love of money is the root of all evil. I do not mean that money is an evil, if regarded only as a medium to carry out necessary and beneficial purposes; for in this there is no real love, no idolizing it. Men should use money as a lever; and who loves his crowbar because he has used it for rolling stones? But suppose one should set up a crowbar and bow down to it; and should say his prayers to his lever! So money used as an instrument is good, and may God bless the use of it. But when men enjoy money in such a way as that the affections given for wife and child, and friend and country, and God, are absorbed in the love of money, then it is that it becomes an evil; and there are now men thin and wrinkled walking in your streets whose hearts seem ploughed all over with avarice, and dried up to every other affection than that of increased wealth and an intense love of gain. Such men there are in every community; and although religion makes good battle against it, yet thus far Christianity has not succeeded in removing this growing spirit from the commercial circles of the globe. Lord Brougham said, "When the profits of the slave-trade exceed two or three hundred per cent., all the navies of the globe could not stop the trade on the coast of Africa." So when profits rise one or two hundred per cent., all the power of religion cannot stop men from doing wrong, and it cannot kill slavery, especially when we have a few clergymen to step in, in good time, to baptize the wrong and call it Christianity. (Laughter.)

But there were developed, over and above the considerations I have dwelt upon, other reasons why this gigantic evil was fastened upon us, so adverse in every respect to the spirit of our institutions, and that is the element of political power which was given to the slave interest. Its full power and bearing I suppose was not understood at the time of the adoption of our Constitution; for we should remember that we built our Constitution somewhat as we build steamboats. The naval architect has his own idea of what will displace the least amount of water and give the greatest force to the wheel, and he builds the boat to realize his idea; but you cannot tell when a ship is on the stocks what she will do, or whether she will perform as you designed. You must launch her, get up her steam; and then it sometimes happens that the ship that was expected to beat the world turns out to be an inferior affair, and on the other hand the ship that was not much thought of on the stocks proves to be a superior vessel, and excels all competitors. So the wisest heads, judging of the ship of State during her construction, could not tell exactly what she was going to be; some things in our Constitution acted a great deal better than its framers thought, and some things turned out worse, it is to be hoped, than was expected. At the time of its adoption there was one hearty desire, North and South, that the Constitution of these United States should be a *bona fide* instrument of liberty. It was never in contemplation by Northern or Southern delegates to make the Constitution sanction slavery.

But there is another matter to which I must advert. It is to be remembered that all the causes I have mentioned could not have fastened upon us the evils of slavery in such variety, in such intensity, if there had been exerted upon it the influences of Christianity; and therefore, I say, that one of the reasons why slavery has made such headway is, that the forces of Christianity have never been fully arrayed against it, and at this day are not arrayed against it; and this is the thought I wish now to elaborate. Must I say then that the Church is corrupt? No; I say no such thing. I admit that it is not perfect. It has its evils; but I honor its institutions. I love the Church; with all her faults I love her. No greater evil could betide the world, and none is more to be dreaded, than that evil which should sweep the Church from its foundations; for she is the mother of the world's mercies. Do I say then, when I declare that Christianity has not done its work, that the body of ministers is a body of time-serving and corrupt men? God is my judge, if I do not believe that the ministers of the various denominations of these United States represent as faithful and as true-minded a body of men as any other equal number of men on the face of the globe. They, perhaps, are sometimes warped in their opinions, and sometimes prejudiced. Some go to ultraisms on this tack, and some by conservatism go to ultraism in that direction; but with all their faults and shortcomings, I could give them, not only my confidence, but my heart and hand, and say to them, God bless you, as God through you is blessing his poor sin-lost world. What then, am I any the less true when I say that though I honor and praise the Church, and love the ministry of the Church, of all denominations, yet neither the ministry nor the Church has borne that testi-

mony, nor exerted that influence upon the subject of slavery that it ought to have done? It has not yet preached the truths of the gospel in such variety and power, it has not arrayed its truths in such a way, as that it should be abated.

Fellow-citizens, the gospel finds its way in this world as does the water on the mountains. It goes creeping down, hunting for channels here and there, and working its sinuous way in every direction. At last, when a level is found, a current is established, and the water has free course to run. The spirit of Christianity is like the rays of the morning sun, that begin on the mountain top, and creep down into the valley, and up the smaller hills and down their further sides; and so it works its way latitude by latitude, and parallel by parallel, till it shines round the globe. So the spirit of religion begins. It takes men and cultivates them, and a generation of men, and a world, little by little, until gradually they approach the full stature of the perfect man.

Now what I say is this, that the spirit of Christianity has never yet come up to the subject of slavery, and dealt with it as it has a right to deal with it, and as I believe ere long it will deal with this subject.

Let me now inquire, what is the attitude of Christianity towards the slaves of this country? You and I shall perfectly agree, that, if there be one thing characteristic of the gospel of Christ, it was that it did not regard ranks and degrees; and in this it was a paradox, for it regarded nothing so much. I will explain. It was nothing to Christ that men were rich or poor, high or low, Jew or Gentile, bond or free. There was one level, they were all alike to Christ; and yet there was another respect in which Christ did regard the ranks and gradations of society. There was one class very much enlightened, another still less enlightened, and another still less. Christ began at the bottom where men were the poorest, the weakest, the most ignorant, and the most helpless; or, as Christ himself said, in that beautiful similitude drawn from the shepherd's life, "I came to seek and to save the lost"—those who had strayed from the fold and were surrounded with dangers. They first that were the lowest Christ took, and then moved upwards in the scale. And that is the spirit of Christianity, to pay its first regards to the poor; and therefore, when John sent to Christ to ask for the evidences of his Messiahship, He said to the messenger, "Go and tell John, the dead are raised, the blind receive their sight, the lepers are healed;" and then, as a climax that could not be resisted, "the poor have the gospel preached to them." That was the reply that was made; and I say it is the duty of ministers of the gospel, and the duty of the Church, to regard those that are ignorant, those that are low, those that are poor, those that are weak, those that are despised. The spirit of Christianity is to go down to them first, and take care of them, defend them, educate them, love them, and save them. This is Christianity; and I hope there is no man on this broad continent who is not glad that this is Christianity, and that there is hope for the laborer, hope for the slave, and hope for the oppressed. For if it were not for this divine and benignant spirit of Christianity, if it were the rich, the high-favored only, that Christianity cared for, if God should go upon their side, against the poor and the weak, they would be as the dust of the summer threshing-floor, and fly away, and none could save them. Now I ask, is this the spirit of Christianity? Has it been exerted in behalf of the African race? Have we treated them as the spirit of Christianity teaches us that we should treat them? Well, let us look at the South and see. The rights of three millions of men in the South are absolutely taken away from them. A system prevails there—in a land of churches too—which destroys the manhood of three millions of men. I shall have occasion to reiterate this idea, and I wish to burn it into your understandings, that the evil of slavery does not lie in the fact that one man or twenty men are obliged to eat coarse corn bread and no meat, wear linsey-woolsey, and live in shanties. It is, that American slavery begins with this fundamental canon, that the *slave is not a man*. It is written in the slave laws that a slave is a chattel, that is to say, an animal, or a piece of furniture; and thus it denies to three millions of men the rights of manhood. It leaves the mind therefore a blank. It leaves religion and the religious education of the slave to mere chance. It is a system which renders chastity in either sex almost an impossibility; a system which breaks up the family, and brings father, mother, brother, and sister to the block to be sold with mules, horses, oxen, and hogs, and dispersed hither and thither as the buyer may deem proper. This is the *system*, not the abuse.

Fellow-citizens, about four thousand years ago there was another system of slavery. It is well known as Hebrew slavery; and I have so often heard the subject of slavery justified as a Bible system, justified by Hebrew slavery, that I wish to call your attention to this subject. And I will now make a fair challenge to the gentlemen from the South, and especially to the clergymen of the South—and if I could stand in

Georgia, I both would speak as I do about slavery, and what is more, they would treat me fully as respectfully as I am treated here, and better, I think—if you will agree to put American slavery on the ground where the Bible puts it, I will give it up, and I will say that the Bible does allow slavery, and did make laws, and did legislate for slaves. We will make a compromise—for this is a day of compromises, though they are not always fair compromises. I will give up the argument that the Bible is against slavery, if you will agree to put your slavery on the platform of Bible slavery. There were three kinds of servitude practised in those days. The first was Hebrew slavery, a slavery in which the Hebrews were sold for a short period. It was a kind of apprenticeship, scarcely more rigorous than our modern system of apprenticeship. No Hebrew could be sold for a longer period than seven years. The sabbatical year set him free. This slavery was full of all manner of ameliorations, and not hard to be borne.

There was also a system of slavery which might be called public slavery—that of the Gibeonites conquered in war. They lived among themselves, and took care of themselves. They worked, as our penitentiary convicts work, for the commonwealth. There was a third kind of slavery which might be called the Hebrew bond service. This was the real slavery practised by the Hebrews. Now I find it a great deal cheaper to admit the existence of this slavery, and that it was a grievous slavery, than to dispute it for fear the Bible should seem to be on the side of oppression. Moses did not introduce nor enact slavery. He regulated it; and first, what was the regulation? He forbade the Hebrews buying any one but a heathen for a slave, and forbade them buying even a heathen, except on this condition, that he would receive circumcision and become a Jew. Therefore, the first introduction of a man into bond service was the *recognition of him as a moral and accountable being*, and he was brought at once under the religious institutions and instructions of the Jewish people. It was made obligatory on every Hebrew who owned a slave, to see that he was religiously educated.

But pause one moment to see how much was meant by *religious* education in that day. We have the family government, which is the most blessed of all governments. The child next goes to the common school, then to the academy, then to the college, and finally out into the community, and becomes a member of various associations and societies. There he has the intercourse of scientific men; he has his magazines, his newspapers, and his libraries. Our learning is augmented a thousand fold, our education is distributed into a thousand cells. But the time once was, when it was compressed into five little books. The Jews had no newspaper, and no institution of an educational kind; and when you had educated a man in the Pentateuch, the laws of Moses, you had given him the sum of all the human knowledge of that day. You had, as it were, put him through college and graduated him. When a Hebrew slave, therefore, was educated in the knowledge of the Mosiac books, that man was dealt with as if a Southern man should take a slave and send him North, as he would his own son, and put him through college, and then bring him back and put him to the plough and the hoe. (Cheers.) That is the way the Hebrews educated their slaves; and not only so, reckoning the Sabbath days and holidays, the seventh years, and the fiftieth year, a calculation would show that all their slaves had at least one half their time, in which no work was required of them, for leisure; and moreover, the Hebrew bond slave, although he was a bond slave for life, had applied to him all those motives under which men are developed. Under certain circumstances he could acquire property, and rise to honor, and be just as good, and stand just as high, and become well nigh as independent, as any other citizen; and therefore he had the stimulant of ambition, of hope, of character. This was the Jewish system of bond slavery. It began by recognizing every man as a moral and accountable being. It proceeded consequently to legislate for his religious instruction, and all the legislation of Moses was in favor of the slave and not in favor of the master. If injustice was done him, the slave could go into the courts and be heard in his own cause. If the master was so vile as to abuse and beat him, the wound itself set him free; and lastly, if the slave being so abused should run away, there was a standing enactment that no man should return the fugitive to his master. It was understood that under the regulations of Moses, the system of slavery would be so easy and pleasant to him that he would not wish to run away from his master; but if he did, it was *prima facie* evidence that he ought to run away; and it is so all the world over.

Four thousand years have passed. Here was a hardy nation who had scarcely shaken the sand out of their shoes, who had but just dried their garments—no, I forgot! they crossed on dry land—they scarcely had found their place in their promised land, while their shoulders were yet sore with the burdens they had borne; these

men became themselves masters in their turn; and this is the system they instituted four thousand years ago; and this too without any Bible revealed to them; for they had only a part of it—the Pentateuch. The whole of the Prophets, and the Psalms, and the New Testament were not yet theirs. Here was their system of oppression, if you are pleased so to call it. We have had since that day—oh, how much! We have the appearance of Christ himself, the recorded gospel, and Christian institutions. How has the world grown in the knowledge of human relations and human rights! Since the days of Christ, we have had revolutions, and contentions, and battles; and liberty of conscience and civil liberty have been hewn out of the rocky state of despotism. What expansion also in learning, what attainments in science, and what knowledge of legislation and civil government! And now, we too have tried our hand at a system of slavery. The Hebrew slavery began with the recognition that man was a moral and accountable agent; four thousand years have passed away, and we began our system of slavery by declaring that a slave is a brute, a chattel, and not a man! The Hebrew law maintained that when a man became a slave, he should be circumcised and come under Jewish instruction; four thousand years have gone, and American slavery takes no care of the slave as a religious being, the law makes no provision for his moral training. In that remote age, among that rude people, the laws rigidly guarded the chastity of woman, and if her master violated her honor, she became his wife; but four thousand years have passed, and an institution of slavery has been set afoot in America, and in this Christian land, among Christian churches, under the full blaze and power of the gospel in its summer heat, the chastity of men and women is utterly neglected—as much so as that of the horse, the dog, or the hog; and this is the advance we have made in this Christian land of America! Then there were laws for the slave; now the laws are for the master. Four thousand years ago, courts were established where the slave could go and tell his story; now there is not a court from Mason and Dixon's line to Texas, that will allow a black man, whether bond or free, to open his lips. This is the American system of servitude. That was the Hebrew! Are they alike? Do the outrages of American slavery find any countenance in the humanity and leniency of its oft alleged prototype?

Now, fellow-citizens, I ask you, would it not be a great gain if we could bring the South to a compromise, if we could bring African slavery on to the platform of Hebrew slavery? If you would bring about this compromise, you must recognize the slave to be a man, and not a chattel. You must give him books, let him read the Bible, open churches for him, erect courts for him or open to him those now existing, pass laws to protect him. The moment you are obliged to treat slaves as men, the trouble, the labor, the time, the responsibility are such that no man will hold slaves. It is hard enough for me, with a family of three small children, to educate and take care of them; but suppose I had five hundred children, what should I do? Suppose you enact the law of the Hebrews—the Lord have mercy on some of our Southern planters, who would have to take care of and instruct all their vast number of slaves, and be responsible for their religious education! It could not be done, and slavery would come to an end.

This is the system of Christian slavery at the South—in brief. I have but just touched it. As the artist takes his chalk and draws out a sketch of his design, so I have but chalked the outlines of the real system of slavery.

What then has Christianity in America done in behalf of the African as a slave? Has there been any pulpit or Christian church in the South, where Christianity has stood up and rebuked this infamous, God-defying doctrine, that a slave is a chattel? When, where? Never, nowhere! Where has there been a Christian in the South, who has stood up and said to the community, You must give up your slaves or regard them as moral and accountable beings? In some few instances there has been a devotion to truth and duty in this matter which was well, and which I trust will be imitated; but take the South comprehensively, this has not been done. Where has there been any Southern Christian, who has rebuked the infamous prostitution of the sexes, that is as common in the South as the slaves themselves are?

Fellow-citizens, fornication and adultery at the South are no bar to church membership. (Hisses drowned by cheers.) I have talked a good while, and it is but fair now that you should talk! I go in for free discussion, as well as for free soil. I am glad there is an awakening conscience, and a sense of shame in this matter. Do you not know that a great many ministers in the South, when they celebrate the ceremony of marriage between slaves, leave out the injunction, "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder?" For they know that the man may be sold and sent one way and the woman the other. They may be members of the Baptist, Presbyterian or other Church, and when they go, their pastor gives them a letter that

certifies that they are in good and regular standing in the Church. Now, it is very plain that they cannot live together. He is received into the church and takes a wife, and although he has one already, yet his letter is clean. He is sold a second, a third, and a fourth time, and each time gets a wife; and if he is sold forty times he will have forty wives, and there is not one word said against it. His letter is good from church to church, and it is not considered inconsistent in the Christian character of a slave thus to violate the duty of chastity. Now these facts are notorious in the South, and are not only known but are not thought very much of. (A voice, "Nobody knows them but yourself.") (Another voice, "There is a man in this city who has got twenty wives.") I am sorry for him. (Applause and laughter.)

And now I ask what has Christianity done for the African in the North? And on this point I cannot tarry. One thing is very plain if the truths I have stated *are* true; if the free African of the North is vicious, if he is ignorant, if he does not understand the ways of trade, the duty of the Church was to go down to him, and preach the gospel to him, to educate him and his children, to inspire him with a spirit of industry, and open the door to industrial occupations for him. That was the duty of Christianity. But what has the North done for the free African? Has it founded churches for him? They have built their own churches, with but very few exceptions; and it cannot be denied that Christianity has been signally deficient in preaching the gospel to the colored people of the North. Where are the schools that are open for them? Where are the motives to incite them to industrial occupations? There are none. The very doors of the shops in most of the trades are shut to the man of the sable skin; and he cannot be a clerk nor a journeyman, for our industrial classes feel that a man who has been a slave is not fit to work with a man who is a freeman. Thus has the odium extended northward. And what has Christianity done? Has it interposed, has it come in between them and the prejudices of this community, and undertaken to educate the public in regard to its duty? It has not done it. It has done worse than that. A few States give him the right of property and permit him to vote; but most of the legislation in the Northern and free States makes color a ground of disfranchisement. He cannot vote nor have property; he is put under bonds if he comes into some States, and every means is taken to eject him from the States. I know there is no man in his senses, that thinks of these things soberly, who will say it is not so. Is this the spirit of Christianity? Are our people acting Christian-like in this regard? Has the Church risen up and said, "By the power of Christ these men shall not be trampled in the dust; these men shall have the gospel preached to them, and shall be educated; these men shall have a chance given them to be respectable?" Oh! no; Christianity has pointed to the ship and said, "There is the ship, and there is Africa, and you had better go." That is the gospel that has been preached to them. "Emigrate, colonize." That is the gospel they have heard.

What is the danger that threatens the Church in America? Her danger is not from being extinguished by persecution. She is growing plethoric; she is waxing fat; she feels her spirit, and she kicks. Having so much riches, so much luxury, so much worldly prosperity, she is more like to die of obesity than of want. In the providence of God our whole western frontier is opened, in which the Church might work off, as it were, some of her fatness and superfluous flesh; and a despised and neglected multitude are in her midst to be educated and inspired to usefulness; but instead of that, she is trying to shirk her work, and give her children a free passage to Africa, thus getting rid of the work God has appointed her to do.

These remarks are not aimed at the Colonization Society, for I say most frankly and heartily, if any man really wishes to go to Africa, I am glad that there is a way, for Africa's sake and for his sake; and as far as that class of men are concerned, I believe in colonization for the sake of the continent, and no farther. When it is on the spur of necessity that they are colonized, and when there is such a prejudice at home that they cannot stay here, then I turn round and say, "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan." God has put a poor, despised, ignorant people among the Christians of this land, and said to them, "These are my people," and they rise and cast them into the sea. God will bring them to judgment for such things. First do your duty to them, educate them, and then with a better grace we may say to them, "Emigrate, *colonize*," and not till then.

I am very glad to say that, although this is a dark picture, it has been growing a little lighter within my remembrance. There has been generated within the past few years a higher tone of Christian feeling in respect to the free Africans of the North. The North has begun to be thoroughly aroused to the subject of slavery—aroused tempestuously, and not in the most prudent way I take it; but I will not

say a word against any who have endeavored to do well for liberty and humanity. Christian men have begun to study more thoroughly into the nature of the slave institution in the South and begun too with the Bible in their hand, determined to know what are the rules by which she is to judge of her duties. The result has been, that our churches have begun to pray and our ministers to preach more, and Northern men have been coming rapidly, for the last twenty years, into a more Christian state of feeling in respect to the African colored people of the North and the slaves of the South. The true way is to correct public sentiment at the North. Let it be sweetened and christianized by the gospel, and that will work quicker and go further than it would to leave the North uncultivated and go and preach to the South. Here is the place; for where evils are to be reformed they must be attacked from without and not from within; and the curative process must begin in the North and not in the South; and this does not interfere with the fact that, after all, the Southerners must abolish their own slavery. The first effect of the increased fidelity of the North has been a fear that slavery must perish; and that gave rise to a desire to extend the slave territory; and, next, it gave rise to political agitations. It was seized hold of by politicians and incorporated into a national system of politics, and next it gave rise to that most execrable of all unbaptized monsters, the Fugitive Slave Law.

Fellow-citizens, there was a near prospect, it seems to me, five years ago, of a peaceable retrocession of slavery. There was an advance of moral public opinion, both in the North and in the South, which was most surprising. I do not believe one word of that doctrine that slavery became more firmly rooted in the South on account of agitation in the North. Why, you have got nothing but agitation to work with. Let me say to you that the day for despotic legislation and for brute force has passed away. IDEAS are kings now. Ideas are to legislate for the world; and the day has come when moral thoughts and moral principles are to be free as air. These have begun to travel in the South, and are still travelling. The plan which seemed opened before us was this, to drop all political and odious terms, to say to the slave interest, "Maintain your foothold as long as you please, but you cannot soil another foot of territory with slavery." There was nothing in the Constitution against that. Then, secondly, we would say, "You shall not have any factitious help from us on account of our connection with you; we will wash our hands of all patronage or countenance of slavery, as far as it is in the power of men to do it." Then when we had said thus far, we would have added, "We do not mean to invade your own territory and disturb the institution where it exists. We do not mean to infringe constitutional law one single whit. We mean to do what the sun does, when it stands over against mountains of ice and they melt. But that moral force may have any beneficial effect, it is necessary that slavery should abide where it is. It must not travel farther. Its roots must have no more soil. If you take the nomadic Arabs and preach the gospel to them on horseback, they will run away from you; you cannot preach as fast as they can ride. But if these nomads will pitch their tents, and become stationary, you may then hope to civilize and Christianize them. If slavery were allowed to go to New-Mexico and to California, we cannot overtake it with the gospel; but the moment we can anchor the institution, the moment we can establish bulwarks and lines of demarkation about it, that very moment you have a place where you can with brotherly affection begin to kill it, and we will do it too with the sword of the Spirit and with the truth of God. We mean not to violate the spirit of Christianity nor even of courtesy in speaking as we do; we mean to preach the great doctrine of Christ, the great truths of God's liberty in the North, and if they will hold still in the South, we will overtake them with it. We will make slavery a burden to their conscience, and a burden to their pockets, as it is a burden to God's patience. But, it seemed as if the land were never to have rest, there came along these agitators. Oh! these agitators, these agitators! If we could only find out who they were. But there *have* been agitators! We might have had free intercourse with the South. We might have preached our ideas to them, and they might have preached their ideas to us. We hoped the day would come when there could be this kind of traffic, and our heads could trade with their heads; then we would have the hip-lock of them, and we would throw them. But no, it seemed as if the Devil could not stay peaceably in hell. He is now, just as he always was, wandering up and down to see what he can do. He went to Washington: I fear that he has been there a great many times; when he put himself into the shape of the Fugitive Slave Law, he overvaulted his ambition and fell on the other side. I will venture to say that nothing has happened since this nation was founded that has made such a gulf between the North and the South as the passing of this Fugitive

Slave Law. (Loud applause.) Let me state some of the reasons why I think so, and why I am opposed to the Law. First, I am opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law on account of the inhumanity of the thing itself. If it was simply taking a man held to service back to poor fare, poor clothes, poor lodging and hard work, well, for the sake of the Union, (Ahem! ahem!!) I would do even that. I love the Union. I do not give up even to those dry nurses of the Union, the Union Safety Committee. (Cheers and laughter.) I profess that I am as much of a patriot as they are. How can I send back a man to a system which denies his humanity—which ranks him with the brutes, where it is a penitentiary offense to teach him to read, where he has no religious ministry appointed for him? To take a man who has just struggled up to the free North, who has long thought of liberty, who has offered up his thanks to God that he was to be free at last, who has but just reached the shores of freedom; to take that man back again and plunge him into the waves of bondage, where bondage means damnation—that is what they ask the Christian Church to do, and that is what they ask me to instruct my people to do! For refusing it, we are pronounced disorganizers; and when we plead conscience, religious newspapers jeer; and when we appeal to a higher law of humanity and of God, even ministers of the gospel are found denouncing the idea, that in such deeds there can be any higher law than that of Congress!

On this point we are met by the New Testament and the case of Paul and Onesimus; and we are told that the apostle Paul sent back men into slavery. Into such a slavery as a brother beloved, and in such a way, viz., by his own free consent, I should not object to return fugitives. There are two ways of sending men back into slavery. Paul took one way and Marshal Devens and Commissioner Somebody, in New-York, took another way. Let us look at these two ways. Paul preached the gospel to the man whom he returned to slavery. Now I should like to see the Marshals go and preach the gospel to a slave of their catching, and get down on their knees and pray with him and read him the Confession of Faith. (Laughter.) Then, secondly, Paul wrote a letter and sent the man back by himself—he did not ask any officer to attend him; and when he got back his master opened the letter and read, "I return him to you a brother, and as such receive him from me." Now, rather than to see this sweet and precious Union dissolved, I would accept this method of sending men back into slavery; I would arrest a fugitive and write a letter to his master in the South, make him carry it himself, and say, "I return him to you as a brother." How he would look when he got back there, standing up in his master's presence smiling with his bright ebony face, and saying, "How do you do, my brother? and how do you do, my sister?" (Loud and repeated applause.) Oh, how I wish that our venerable doctors—and we are told that they are old and wise men—I believe that no one could read their sermons without soon discovering that they are old—very old; yet I have a great respect and reverence for them, in spots—(Laughter)—I wish that they would practise the example of Paul's treatment of Onesimus. I maintain that these men should have the Epistle of Paul republished by the Tract Society, as they have been publishing the Proverbs of Solomon, and put it in their pockets and go South with some of these Simses and Henry Longs. Let it be understood that no master is to have his runaway slave, who will not receive him as a "brother;" and that no fugitive slave is to be sent back upon compulsion, but only such as are willing to go of themselves; and then we should have the Pauline practice.

The first reason, therefore, why I object to the Fugitive Slave Law, is, that it compels me to do what I am taught to be a sin by their own favorite Bible-texts. If it is wrong to send back Dr. Pennington, then it is wrong to send back Sims and Long. Is it right to send back this beloved brother, Dr. Pennington, who is a slave unredeemed, who very likely would be sent back if he should resume his pastoral duties here, and who is wind-bound abroad, as the winds of oppression will not let him come home?

It would be just as right to send him back as it was Sims and Long, and you are just as much in duty bound to send one as another. Would you send him back into slavery? (A voice, "I would for one." Another voice, "I would for two." Another, "I would for three.") Would any man in his senses send him back? (Great applause and laughter.)

But I remark, secondly, in respect to this Fugitive Slave Law, I am amazed at it because it is so utterly unfit to carry out its own principles. In the first place, the Fugitive Slave Law cannot return the fugitives of the South. It has not returned, and cannot and will not return one per cent. of them. The old law did not, neither will the new. You may not know there is an underground railroad in New-York. I

hear of it, though I am not a conductor on it, and I venture to say that there are forty men coming through it from the South, where there has been one carried back. The old law—of which it may be said that it was weak through the flesh—could not stop this. I think about the old law as I think about fishing. My father is a good fisherman, and he can catch more fish with a pin hook and an old stick for a pole, than I can with a fly hook, a brass-feruled cane rod, and all the other scientific appurtenances of the art. Now when a community are prepared to arrest a fugitive and send him back into slavery, the old law, although it is an old alder pole and pin hook, is good enough to catch them with; but now you have one of those bright silver-jointed rods and fly hooks and other fixings, and you won't catch one single fish or fugitive more than you did with your old tackle. The trouble lies not in the old law, but in the public sentiment of the community where you are fishing. Suppose a man is taken sick with the cholera and the doctors should give a dose of medicine to his horse, would the man get any better? The sickness lies in the community, and you have been dosing the law. The law does not need any medicine.

I object, thirdly, to the Fugitive Slave Law, because it serves to irritate an evil which was already bad enough. It stirs up ill blood between the North and the South, and it seems to me there never was a bill framed by Congress better calculated in all its tendencies to do so. I recollect of once hearing an old clergyman describe a young minister as one who "preached as though the devil was in him. He takes the promises of the Bible and throws them out with a pitchfork;" and so the last Congress has thrown out its enactments with a pitchfork. This whole law is a disgrace to them and to us. I object to it, then, because it abridges very much, at least brings into danger, the essential liberties of freemen. Such has been the panic and the sense of danger during the winter past that thousands of men, women, and children, peacefully engaged at their various occupations, have been driven hither and thither, scattered like partridges on the mountains when the sound of the hunter was upon them. We little realize the terror that was stricken through the hearts of its victims when this law was enacted. They trembled in view of consequences, of being arrested and brought before men who were promised ten dollars if they convicted them, but only five if they cleared them.

But, not only does this bill, which is so odious, endanger the interests of free citizens, but it comes to me and says, "Henry Ward Beecher, if the sheriff calls upon you to seize that man, you must do it." It comes to me and says, "That poor woman who came to your door last night, and whom you took into your house, knowing her to be a slave, you must give up to me." He puts his grip on me, and I must be fined or incarcerated because I gave her bread and water. Let a man act under such an official character as that, let him put me under a penalty for obeying Christ's law, and then let me meet him in the day of judgment if he dare! No, it is bad enough that they go against the Constitution and violate the well-understood sentiment that existed when that Constitution was made; it is bad enough that the Constitution stands so far warped and bent as it does; but when it comes down to the citizens of this country and says to them, "You are bound to obey this law in this way; you are bound to help if called upon; you are forbidden to harbor or feed the fugitive," God do so to me and more also, if when a man comes to me weary, dusty, and far spent with travel, I do not help him freedomward! (Cheers.)

I say to the South and to her politicians, that the true course of Christian policy should have been to allay and not to increase the strife between the North and the South. It was their duty to have avoided all cause of irritation on this subject; it was their duty to have acted more in accordance with the spirit of Christian love; and it was our duty, too, to have avoided all cause for irritation for the sake of the Union. When that law passed, against the known moral sentiment of the North, it was bombarding the North; it was the artillery of the South aimed directly at us, park after park; and the cannoner was one who should never have been found firing against his own hearthstone.

Fellow-citizens, a few years ago there was a man who, in a speech at Niblo's Garden, declared as only such a man as he can declare—for it is not given to one age to see more than one Webster—"that they who attempted to trespass upon the religious feeling of the North on the subject of slavery, had not considerably weighed what that feeling was;" and he warned the South against such a course, as one which would inevitably shake the stability of the Union. O Lucifer! son of the morning, how art thou fallen, thou who wast a prophet, but who hast forgotten thine own predictions, and done the very thing that with a voice of inspiration thou warndest others not to do! I remember when almost I revered that man; and I think for stature of understanding, for mighty genius as a statesman, no man in this land, and

since the death of Peel, no man in any land, is his equal. I would not speak harshly of Daniel Webster; I would not, like Shimei, cast stones at him; I would rather go backwards as did the reverent children of Noah, and put a cloak over his nakedness. But when I hear him eulogized in the street, in the papers, and in the pulpit, and am made to step over him, and to walk around him, and to meet him at every turn, much as I look up to that great man—and I am proud of him as a New-Englander—much as I think of him, yet there is something even dearer to me than this great statesman of America. Liberty is dearer, truth is dearer, religion and humanity are dearer. (Applause.)

I object to the Fugitive Slave Law, because it aims a deadly blow at respect for all law; for I think that bad laws are treason to good governments; that the legislature that enacts a bad law knocks out one stone from the foundation of the governmental fabric. There is no doubt whatever that more influence is exerted by one bad law, towards promiscuous disobedience of all law, than can be repaired by a generation.

I object to the law on account of its sequences, on account of the influences it is developing; for so it is that, as one lie begets half a dozen, as one wrong will bring a retinue of wrongs in its train, and one false principle brings after it a score of false principles, so this law brings in its train a host of disastrous sequences; and first and foremost among these is one that I have mentioned, this impotent phantasm of a Union Committee—men who read a ledger for their duty, and feel in their pockets for their conscience. (Laughter.)

I object to this law still farther, because it has brought into vogue a style of reasoning and an advocacy of principles, which if believed and carried out will destroy the foundations of civil government. The time, I trust, is past when we shall hear, as we lately have heard, men in the pulpits—blind men leading the blind—crying out for lower law; and men ordained to preach God's law, ridiculing higher law and venting their injured sensibilities against rival denominations, taking this occasion to send poisoned arrows at them; mixing up private wrongs with public grievances. Not long since, we heard abundant eloquence expended to prove that the citizen was obliged to obey the laws of the land, and that this was obeying God; that legislators being ordained of God, when the Government enacted any thing it was the duty of the citizen to obey. A law so enacted was to be his Pope—and more than Pope—it was to be his Jesus Christ, his Jehovah, and he was to obey it and bow down to it; and at the pretense "higher law" and a sensitive conscience, there was ridicule and reproach. This doctrine is only the old theory that prevailed in the time of King James. It is only revamping their puerile policy, and bringing their old exploded doctrines down to this day for the government of this Republic; and if that doctrine is to recover itself and to receive any patronage, if that is to be the doctrine of our land, there is no chance for a permanent Republic here. Why is it that France has so long struggled and striven for a republic, and has never grasped it? Why is it that Italy has asked for a republic and has never been able to get it? Why is it that Hungary has been longing to establish a republic? It is because the common people have been trodden down and not educated, and been taught by their schoolmasters and ministers and legislators that it was their duty to give up their conscience to the magistrate and the priest; and, therefore, there was no foundation upon which to build a republic. You might as well attempt to build a custom-house like that in Wall street on cotton wool. The material for a republic is too soft; man there is pithy, porous, spongy, flabby, and must remain so until you put the stuff of conscience into him and make him independent in his moral sense. The man that digs coal in this country, the man that tinkers my kettle, the man that sews my shoe, I, not a whit more than he, can stand up and say, "God, thou art my Father; there is none on earth between me and Thee!" The noblest thing that God ever made and gave to man, was his conscience! Our fathers educated us to use that conscience in spite of authority civil or ecclesiastical. It made New-England. Her sons were trained to regard conscience as more sacred than any thing else. A nation based upon conscience, has, like New-England, a substratum of granite, while a nation without a conscience is like the sand of the sea-shore upon which you cannot build. Now, if you wish to be like South America, like France, like Italy, and those other poverty-stricken nations, then give heed to these seducing priests and to those apostate statesmen who tell you that your conscience is to be given up to the Government, and that you are not to regard its monitions. But I tell you, God will hold you in judgment if you do not have consciences upon so great a question of humanity, and if, then, you do not heed them.

Now, this hateful law, framed in iniquity for the sake of perpetuating iniquity,

has been suicidal to liberty. I think that while many have given adhesion to it from party reasons, and many more have assented to it from commercial reasons, I thank God that it is not the doctrine of the country, it is not the doctrine of New-York State, of Connecticut, of Rhode-Island, of Massachusetts, of New-Hampshire, of Maine, of Vermont, of Michigan, of Ohio, of Indiana, of Wisconsin, nor of Iowa; and I think that time will show, and that ere long, all the States north of Mason and Dixon's line, and I may fain hope of Kentucky and Tennessee too,—I believe that time will show that this doctrine, hateful alike to God and man, is repudiated by the common sense of a well-educated people; and that the time will come when no greater disgrace can be written upon a tomb-stone as epitaph, than "Here lies A. B., author of a commentary and treatise designed to show that conscience must be given up to the magistrate, the legislator and the priest!" Everybody will read it, and exclaim, "God have mercy upon his poor soul!"

I have attempted to speak that which I believed to be true. It may appear exaggerated to you; but I believe it. I have said things to awaken your own thought, and all I ask is, that you will lay the truth to heart and think upon this subject in the light of eternity, with the Bible in your hands, conscious that God looks upon you. Think of it as Christian men, as patriots; and if you will think of it, the end of my speaking is gained.

Rev. Dr. WILLIS, of Toronto, President of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, next addressed the audience. He regarded this Society, he said, as one of the most interesting of those which held their anniversaries this week, and he rejoiced that the tide of moral sentiment is in the direction in which he saw it going so nobly and so triumphantly. He felt honored in being deputed to attend this anniversary in this great and noble city, and was happy to say that there was no body of men associated for religious and benevolent purposes, with whom he had a deeper sympathy, than those convened on this occasion. Although he could not address the audience as fellow-citizens literally, yet he could address them as brothers and sisters belonging, with himself, to one great Republic, and friends to the anti-slavery cause, which called for the sympathies of every true-hearted man. He had been accustomed to say he was proud of British America, because it annihilates the distinction between master and slave. He would now say, he rejoiced in the feeling here manifested, and could go home and say he was proud of New-York, and could wish that this meeting might be regarded as a representation of the whole country, and the sentiments that have here been uttered, as the sentiment of the entire nation.

He said he trusted that nearly every person in the vast assembly was animated by the same feeling: a deep sympathy in favor of the oppressed and against oppression. The people of Canada, in the exercise of the most friendly feelings, deeply sympathize with the efforts making for the emancipation of the slaves in this country, by moral instrumentality. He was rejoiced to hear what had been said in favor of freedom by his reverend friend who had addressed the meeting, and thankful for the information obtained in regard to the attitude taken by so many of the Christian Church of this Union. But he regretted exceedingly to hear that the Church generally is not lifting up its voice, as audibly as it might, against slavery. Why, he could not have said what has been said here to-day before an English assembly without meeting with incredulity, for they would

scarcely believe that there was so much fault existing here in the ministry and the churches.

"The Bible is not against slavery, but against the *abuse* of it," is the language used by many; and "if Christianity is left to exert its ameliorating influences, it will soon put an end to slavery." Such language has often been used with reference to other enormities. Should not those who use it consider that their interpretations of the law may be wrong, and that they do not sufficiently evolve the morals that are applicable in this department of ethics? He went on to enlarge upon what the last speaker had said upon the subject of Hebrew servitude. He agreed with him substantially, though he was not prepared to concede quite so much with reference to the practice under the Mosaic code. The Hebrews were forbidden, it is allowed by our opponents, to enslave their brethren; but now, the difference between the Jews and Gentiles having been done away, ALL MEN ARE OUR BRETHREN. The distinction made between Jew and Gentile is, he believed, of no validity whatever. He maintained also that the Bible did not recognize the relation of slaveholder and slave. Slavery is a violation of nature and the fundamental principles of morality and religion. When this point is conceded by the Christian churches in this land, we of Canada, said he, will love you better. He would not sit down, he said, without assuring the meeting that he should represent the public feeling of his own country, when he said, that while they lamented the necessity of so many victims of slavery flying to their territory, driven by the late oppressive law, they would not see them cast out and driven back into bondage, but would extend to them all needed protection and succor. On this subject, he said, we ought to feel that we are all of one nation.

REV. CHARLES G. FINNEY was next introduced. He said that many years had elapsed since he had been in New-York to attend the anniversary of this Society. For nearly two years he had been in Europe. He had not been indifferent to the struggle here on the subject of slavery. He had kept his eyes and ears open, and his heart alive, and had felt deeply, as might be supposed, in view of the transactions the last year, especially in view of the passage of that—what should he call it?—he could not call it a *law*, for he did not believe it was a law—the Fugitive Slave Bill. He would detain the audience, only to state what he supposed to be the views entertained in England and in Europe generally, with reference to it. While it was under discussion, he could not believe that it would be enacted. When he heard it had passed, he was astonished. Questions were put to him like these: What will the North do with it? What effect will it have in the free States? Will it be the means of dividing the Union? Will the North obey it? Will the ministers and the churches at the North submit to it? Will it not produce rebellion and civil war? What will be done? He gave it

as his opinion, that the North would not resist it by violence, but that as a general, if not a universal thing, they would not aid in executing it, and that they would try all constitutional means to get rid of it.

He said that when it was stated that several of the ministers at the North preached in favor of sustaining the law, he was put to the blush, and asked in what sense do they sustain it? He told them he supposed they preached that the people should not rebel, but wait and seek to remove the bill by legislation. But when he arrived in this country, not only did he understand that ministers had preached what his brother Beecher represented them to have preached, but that they proclaimed the law to be just and constitutional, and consequently entitled to the unanimous support of the people of the North. He said, he was ashamed to have it known in England, that ministers in this country preached that God had delivered to the civil authorities the power to legislate for the consciences of men, and that individual consciences must be governed by the law of the country. He had no conception that Northern ministers would preach any such thing; he had been shocked at such a doctrine as this. He supposed that the united voice of the North would be, "It is unconstitutional and contrary to the law of God; we will not aid in executing it; we will rid ourselves of it as soon as possible."

He thought people abroad were better qualified to judge of the matter than those in the midst of the excitement, who were driven, as it were, to take one side or the other, especially if they be American citizens. There are two classes in England who are watching these movements with great interest. The monarchists are chuckling with the idea that our government will explode, and that they will then be able to say, "There, you can see how the American government has turned out with its democracy!" But there is a very large class who are tremblingly alive to this question, and are looking at it from another point of view. They sympathize with Northern citizens in their desire to get rid of the law, and dread the idea of this government exploding. They pray earnestly that the matter may be adjusted, that this Union may not be rent asunder, and that God will give wisdom to those who are acting in this matter. He said that one man who felt deeply on the subject said to him, "I regard the establishment of the American government as the greatest event that has occurred since the invention of printing." This man spoke very feelingly of the danger that now threatens this country. The serious politicians of England have often expressed sorrow to me, said Mr. F., at the tone of discussing this subject in Congress. They have looked at it with pain, and have been afraid that it would result in anarchy, bloodshed, and finally in despotism, and thus destroy the hopes of the world. But, he said, if the prayers of the good people of England can be of avail, all the difficulties now existing will result in good.

Mr. Finney said he wished that all who are opposed to the law would

recollect, that English Christians feel deeply interested in this subject, and although they can have no political influence, they have an influence they can carry to the Throne of Grace. They are now praying for this Society, for the abolition of slavery, that God would direct the Congress of the United States, that truth may prevail, and this country be saved. He said there was a strong under-current in this country, and throughout the world, that would result in the overthrow of slavery, and seal the fate of the slave power. Meantime he could say, as Mr. Beecher had said, and he thought it would be the general feeling of Christians, let no one engage in the execution of the accursed law, but seek every constitutional method of casting it away, and blotting it out of existence.

Mr. F. went on to say, that he was amazed that the abominable doctrine should be inculcated from the pulpit, that the legislature can control the consciences of the men of this country, or ought to control them; that God has delivered the power of legislation over the conscience into the hands of a few men, to enact laws in direct defiance of His law, and that in fact repeal His law. If human legislation can in any case repeal God's law, and make enactments contrary to His law obligatory and binding upon men, then they can in all cases; if God's legislation can be set aside by the legislation of man, then we might invoke human legislation to repeal all moral laws at once, and make the law of selfishness the law of God; and thus men might dispose of all sin, and have a short-hand method of abolishing it. What sin could there be in the world under this doctrine? It would eternally be made lawful for man to steal, and violate the most sacred obligations; it would be a summary method of getting rid of the duty of repentance; a summary plan of ridding the world of moral depravity. But who, said he, can believe this?

The whole land, he thought, the moment the bill was passed, should have cried out, as they sometimes do in England at public meetings, when any thing is said or done offensive to the audience: Shame! shame!! shame!!! If the whole land had cried Shame! at the time when the Fugitive Slave Bill was enacted, men would not have stood up in the pulpit, and either advocated that law, or inculcated the duty of obeying it.

The resolutions were then adopted; and the meeting, after an animated and highly satisfactory session of three hours, was adjourned to meet for discussion and business, May 7th, at 9 o'clock A. M.

Annual Report.

SLAVERY continues to be the great question of the day. Its downfall was foreseen by the founders of this government. The sagacious Jefferson, in referring to the slaves of this country, said: "Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free."* It is the present sentiment of the civilized world. Demagogues, wrong-headed statesmen and deluded expositors of Scripture may retard the great work of emancipation, but the glorious issue is as certain as the existence of the sun in the firmament.

The annual review of the anti-slavery cause, which we now propose to take, although it furnishes much to mortify the true-hearted descendants of the men who began the settlement of this country, and the patriots who founded the government under which we live, exposes to our view nothing that should, on reflection, dishearten the friends of liberty. Alternations of hope and fear, of success and defeat, are connected with every moral enterprise, and are like the transit of a ship over the ocean, which, notwithstanding its devious path, arrives ultimately at its destination. Confiding, then, in the overruling providence of God, the down-trodden slave may exclaim, "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy; when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me." And the friends of the slave may, in view of what has been done in this righteous cause, and the prospect before them, thank God and take courage.

The compromise measures, mentioned in our last Annual Report, as being introduced into the Senate of the United States by Mr. Clay, were, after a protracted debate and vigorous opposition, substantially adopted by both houses of Congress. The originator of this project, and his adherents, boasted that its consummation would result in the pacification of the country, as to this great topic; that the Hotspurs of the South would no longer threaten disunion, nor the Abolitionists of the North continue

the agitation of the slavery question. They must be satisfied by the events which have since transpired, that their prophecies are not likely to be fulfilled.

The acts embraced provisions for the admission of California as a free State; for pacifying Texas by a gift of ten million dollars from the national treasury, and at least ninety thousand square miles of territory taken from New-Mexico; forming New-Mexico and Utah into Territories, to be admitted hereafter as States, with or without slavery, as their inhabitants shall decide; for the abolition of the slave-trade *into* the District of Columbia; and for the recovery of fugitive slaves.

The enactment of these bills was another triumph of the Slave Power. The people of California, by their own act, had decided that slavery should not be admitted. The "compromise," then, for the settlement of the difficulty between the slavery and liberty divisions of the United States, consisted, on the one part, in depriving New-Mexico of a large share of her territory and annexing it to Texas, to be hereafter formed into a slave State; in holding out a temptation to the slavery division to establish slavery in the States to be hereafter formed out of the Territories of New-Mexico and Utah; in giving an immense sum of money, an act that may serve as a precedent, to stop the unfounded claims and treasonable threats of a slaveholding State; in making the territory of all the free States a hunting-ground for fugitive slaves, and requiring the free people of these States to afford their aid in their reclamation; and on the other hand, abolishing the slave-trade in the District of Columbia.* A compromise truly!

The most insulting and pernicious of these acts was the Fugitive Slave Bill. It passed the Senate by a vote of 27 yeas and 12 nays, there being only eight more than a quorum present. Only two Senators from the free States were found to vote for it,† while no less than twenty-one members from various States were absent, or silent, when the vote was taken on the engrossment of the bill. In the House of Representatives the bill was forced through without discussion, or any opportunity for amendment. A representative from a free State‡ was selected to move the *previous question*. On the question, "SHALL THIS BILL PASS?" the vote was 109 yeas and 75 nays. Among the yeas were thirty members from the free States! Not less than forty-eight members were absent or declined voting. Several Northern members who did not dare to vote for the bill, and had not sufficient moral principle or courage to vote against

* This bill does not touch the relation of slavery as it exists in the District; it does not prevent the sale of slaves to be transported out of the District; it simply prohibits the importation of slaves as merchandise into the District, and authorizes the corporations of Washington and Georgetown to break up depots of slaves so imported.

† Messrs. A. C. Dodge and George W. Jones, of Iowa.

‡ James Thompson, of Pennsylvania.

it, "dodged" the question. Eleven members, FREE-SOILERS, who had opposed all measures for the extension or support of slavery, during the whole session, were, of course, among the nays. The Representatives from the free States numbered 141, while the number from the slave States was only 91. The former, therefore, had they all voted, could have killed the bill. A tremendous responsibility rests upon them!

The President of the United States, it appears, hesitated about approving the bill, and did not sign it until after he had required the written opinion of the Attorney-General, who is a slaveholder, that it was constitutional. Before his elevation to this high office, by the death of General Taylor, Mr. Fillmore had, in his native State, publicly declaimed against the encroachments of the Slave Power, and maintained that they must be resisted.* And yet, on the first opportunity that presented itself, he succumbed to this power!

Forty-four members of Congress, of different political parties, and from various States, North and South, formed a "Union League," in which they pledged themselves not to vote for any man, even for a member of a State Legislature, who is not an advocate and upholder of the compromise measures. The list is headed by Henry Clay, the originator of the compromise. New-England furnished but one signer to the pledge, of any party; † who also voted for the Fugitive Slave Bill, but has lost his re-election. Only eight of the New-York members signed it—less than one fourth of her delegation. Only two of these have been re-elected. Pennsylvania furnished but one signer, ‡ and there were only eleven signers in all the free States.

That portion of the merchants in New-York who trade largely with the South, not to be wanting in patriotism, took measures to have a "Union Meeting," composed of traders and politicians of various parties. At this meeting, it so happened that all the speakers were political law-

* In addition to other evidence at hand, we subjoin a letter written by President Fillmore, to an officer of an Anti-Slavery Society:—

BUFFALO, Oct. 17, 1838.

SIR:—Your communication of the 15th instant, as chairman of a committee appointed by the 'Anti-Slavery Society of the County of Erie,' has just come to hand. You solicit my answer to the following interrogatories:

1st. Do you believe that petitions to Congress, on the subject of slavery and the slave trade, ought to be received, read, and respectfully considered by the representatives of the people?

2d. Are you opposed to the annexation of Texas to this nation, under any circumstances, so long as slaves are held therein?

3d. Are you in favor of Congress exercising all the constitutional power it possesses to abolish the internal slave-trade between the States?

4th. Are you in favor of immediate legislation for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?

I am much engaged, and have no time to enter into an argument, or to explain at length my reasons for my opinion. I shall, therefore, content myself, for the present, by answering all your interrogatories in the affirmative, and leave, for some future occasion, a more extended discussion of the subject.

MILLARD FILLMORE.

† Samuel A. Elliott, of Boston.

‡ Senator Cooper.

yers. The Abolitionists of the country were denounced, the compromise measures were applauded, and the people throughout the country were called upon to put an end to slavery agitation. At this meeting a "UNION SAFETY COMMITTEE" was appointed, consisting of ONE HUNDRED PERSONS, who were charged with the duty of carrying out, by correspondence and otherwise, the objects of the meeting. The proceedings were published in pamphlet form and distributed throughout the country, with the signatures attached of those who were said to have signed the call for the meeting.* Similar meetings were gotten up at other places, and resolutions of the same import were passed.

It was sanguinely hoped by the merchants and clergymen, as well as by the politicians in the "cotton" interest,† that the measures taken in Congress, and at metropolitan meetings, and by conservative divines, would allay agitation on the engrossing subject of slavery, at least on the part of all opposed to slavery; that the anti-slavery agitators would be overawed and silenced; that the Slave Power would be permitted to have its own way without molestation; and that the cry would be heard throughout the land of "Peace—Peace." But Leviathan is not so tamed.

It was soon found that the South intended to test the sincerity of the North, which had been represented, by that portion of its members of Congress who had voted for the compromise as willing to sustain it to "the fullest extent—to the fullest extent." Well knowing that the people of the free States were smarting under the indignity of having their honored citizens rudely repulsed, while seeking amicably to vindicate the rights of colored seamen in Southern ports; that thus one of the provisions of the Constitution was set at defiance by the States now clamorous for the reclamation of fugitive slaves; and that the people of the North felt keenly the novel and iniquitous features of the Fugitive Slave Bill they seemed determined to carry its infamous provisions into effect, in order that the South might still farther humble the North, and exhibit to the world the triumphs and despotism of the slaveocracy. If, thought they, the soil of the free States can be trampled upon by the pursuers of fugitive slaves; if Northern eyes and hearts can be familiarized

* To this call were attached several thousand signatures. The same name was repeated in numerous instances; in addition to the signature of the firm, the names of the several partners were generally subscribed; in some instances five or six clerks in a single establishment were added; and the number of signatures was thus swelled to give an imposing air to the document, and persuade the people in the country that the leading merchants of New-York were in favor of the "peace" measures of the last session of Congress.

† Some of these clergymen were inveigled into becoming sincere supporters of this interest, it is hoped and believed, under a belief that the peace of the country was actually in danger. Unfortunately for them, the same prefix attaches to their names as has been fastened to those of the merchants and politicians who misled them. Henceforth, Cotton Preachers will be as familiar a term as Cotton Merchants or Cotton Politicians.

with the scenes daily witnessed in the land of slavery; especially if the citizens of those States can be compelled to aid slaveholders, agreeably to the provisions of this act, in the recapture of their victims, the great question will be forever settled; we shall be, without dispute, a slaveholding nation, and the North, with its extensive population and wealth, and its superiority in political power, will forever be to us "hewers of wood and drawers of water."

The passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill emboldened slaveholders, their heirs and representatives, to employ agents, enter into correspondence, and take unwonted measures for the recclamation of fugitives who had recently escaped, and also of those who at periods long past had found their way into the free States. This Bill revived not only hopes of gain, but a desire to exercise authority, if not vengeance, upon those who had long been supposed by both parties to be free from molestation.

Among the advertisements put forth respecting runaways was the following:—

CATCH THE MINISTER!

\$250 for any one who will catch a METHODIST PREACHER!!

\$250 REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living near Jefferson, Frederick county, Maryland, a negro man, who calls himself Lloyd Smuthers, of about 22 years of age. he is about five feet nine or ten inches high, of a yellow complexion, and has a down, sly look, a round face, and short nose. When spoken to, he generally smiles before replying, and speaks smoothly. He had on, when he left, a blue coat, white hat with a black scarf on it, and a pair of blue pants, and took no clothing with him except what he had on, that is known. *He belongs to a Methodist church, and pretends to be a preacher.* He took the western stage on the 20th of November, from the other side of Middleton, and was seen afterwards in Hagerstown; he has a brother-in-law living near Harrisburg, named Ben Russell.

The above reward will be given if taken out of the State, and secured so that I can get him, or \$150 if taken within the State.

JACOB RIDGELY,

Near Jefferson, Md., acting for Ruth Ridgely.

In most instances, the arrest of fugitives has not been preceded by such announcements; but the agents of slaveholders, after correspondence with persons of a like stamp in the free States, have stealthily seized their victims, and brought them before the men who have sold themselves to be Commissioners, under the infamous Fugitive Bill, with a view, in the language of this law, of instituting a "summary" process, and hurrying the doomed man into a slave State before the sympathy of an indignant community can be aroused.

A case speedily occurred. In eight days from the approval of the Bill by President Fillmore, the agent of Mary Brown arrived in New-York, from Baltimore, with a power of attorney and a copy of the act, certified by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State,* and applied to Alex-

* It may afford some satisfaction to the editor of the *Journal of Commerce*, to know that copies of the act, instead of being written or printed specially for such purposes, were cut out from that paper and certified by the Secretary of State, after the typographical errors had been corrected in the Department of State, for the use of slave-hunters, as they might be called for.

ander Gardiner, clerk of the Circuit Court for the Southern District of New-York, who was also a Commissioner, and by the Act constituted a high court, having concurrent jurisdiction with the Judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, in term time and vacation, for a warrant to arrest James Hamlet, a mulatto, and member of the Methodist Church, who had resided near the city of New-York two or three years. The man was, after false statements had been made to him, arrested while pursuing his ordinary business, as porter in a store, and taken before the Commissioner, who proceeded, in a small, retired room, in hot haste, to take the testimony of the claimant and her son, with a view, as was apparent, of delivering him up, and allowing him to be sent into slavery, before a single acquaintance or even his family should be apprised of his arrest. Hamlet insisted that he was a free man, that he had entitled himself to his liberty, and denied that he was a slave. The law prohibited his testimony being taken, and the Commissioner, upon the testimony of the two family witnesses, delivered him up to the agent. He was immediately handcuffed, forced into a carriage, and taken by Benjamin H. Tallmadge, son of Henry F. Tallmadge, United States Marshal, and grandson of Col. Benjamin Tallmadge, who was an officer of the army of 1776 and subsequently a member of Congress, to Baltimore, where he was lodged in the notorious slave-prison lately belonging to Hope H. Slatter. The Deputy Marshal had no sooner lodged the distressed man in this well-known dungeon, than he made a telegraphic communication of his exploit to his father the Marshal. The wife and two children of poor Hamlet had no knowledge of his doom until he had been taken from the city, and were deprived of the mournful consolation of bidding him farewell! While the United States officers, the slaveholders and their abettors, were rejoicing in their achievement, the bereaved family were weeping over the desolation brought about in their humble dwelling.

The pro-slavery press of the city exulted over the procedure as "a vindication of the majesty of the law," although a large portion of the citizens felt ashamed of the deed. The sum of \$800 was soon raised for the redemption of Hamlet, a considerable part of it by the friends of the Bill, and he was restored to his family.

This Society immediately after published the Bill, with a history of its enactment, a classification of the names of those who voted for and against it, an argument on the unconstitutionality of the law, a statement of its infamous provisions, and an account of the seizure, enslavement and subsequent restoration of Hamlet. Three editions, 23,000 copies in all, were published and circulated throughout the country.*

The second fugitive slave case occurred in Philadelphia. A man

* A few hundred copies remain on hand, and can be had at cost on application to William Harned, No. 48 Beckman street, New-York city.

named Henry Garnett, who had, according to the statement of the claimant, been at large eight years, was arrested as the slave of one Thomas P. Jones, of Cecil county, Md. He was brought before Judge Grier, one of the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. He was attended by a Committee of the old "Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery," of which *Benjamin Franklin* was the first President. Able counsel was employed by the Abolitionists to defend the prisoner. Witnesses were examined on behalf of the claimant. The Court decided that the party claiming had not taken the course prescribed by the Fugitive Act; that he had failed to make out even an *ex-parte* case; and that the prisoner had a right to a discharge. He was received outside of the building, by his colored friends, with shouts of exultation, and borne away in triumph. They afterwards held a densely crowded meeting at the Brick Wesley Church, where a set of resolutions was enthusiastically adopted, that would have done honor to the patriarchs of the American Revolution; two of which were as follows:—

Resolved, That we will hold up to the scorn of the civilized world that hypocrisy which welcomes to our shores the refugees from Austrian tyranny, and at the same time would send the refugees from American slavery back to a doom compared with which Austrian tyranny is mercy.

Resolved, That having already witnessed, to some extent, the cruel operations of this law; having felt such anguish as no language can describe in seeing the wife flying from her home and the embraces of her husband, and the husband compelled to fly from his wife and helpless children, to gain that security in the land of a Monarchy which they could not enjoy in this Republic; we ask, calmly and solemnly ask the American people, what have we done to suffer such treatment at your hands? And may we not, in the sight of that God with whom there is no respect of persons, appeal to your sense of justice and mercy to have this most cruel law repealed as soon as Congress shall re-assemble; and in the mean time may we not ask you to create, by all lawful means, such a public sentiment as shall render its operation upon us powerless?

Soon after, another fugitive slave case occurred in Philadelphia, Adam Gibson being the person arrested. The proceedings took place before Edward D. Ingraham, United States Commissioner. The claimant, William S. Knight, of Cecil county, Md., appeared by his agent George F. Alberti, with witnesses brought with him, who swore positively that the prisoner was the slave of Knight. William S. Pierce and David Paul Brown, Esqs., addressed the Commissioner in behalf of the defense with great ability and eloquence. Ingraham said that he had no doubt of the identity of the prisoner, and that he should send him to Maryland. The poor man was accordingly placed in the custody of twenty-five officers, headed by a Philadelphia police marshal, and taken to the depot, accompanied by a large crowd of citizens. From thence several officers conveyed him to Grey's Ferry, where he was placed in the keeping of three officers to be taken to Cecil county, Md. On arriving there, his alleged master, with honorable frankness, declared that he was not his slave. Adam Gibson was therefore permitted to return to his family. This case, and especially the conduct of the Commissioner, occasioned much sensation throughout the country.

In the month of December a man of color, named Henry Long, was arrested in the city of New-York, by virtue of a warrant issued by a pretended Commissioner named Charles M. Hall, who had resided in the city but two weeks, as clerk to Commissioner Gardiner, the person having the unenvied notoriety of being the first Commissioner exercising jurisdiction under the new Bill. Mr. Hall held his court in a small room, near the office of the United States Marshal, and the prisoner was brought before him, dressed in his white jacket and apron, having been arrested while in the act of attending as waiter at the Pacific Hotel. Intelligence of the event having been swiftly circulated, John Jay, Esq., the ever vigilant advocate of the oppressed, soon made his appearance, and with others who acted as friends or counsel of Henry, prevented a certificate being given by the pseudo-Commissioner.

The next morning the agent of the claimant appeared, attended by his counsel, Henry W. Western, Esq. A vigorous defense was made for about two weeks, the particulars of which we have not space to narrate. During this time, at a hearing before Judge Campbell of the Superior Court of the State of New-York, it was proved that Charles M. Hall was only a sham Commissioner, having derived his pretended authority from his employer, Commissioner Gardiner, and not from the Circuit Court, as by law provided. It was the obvious duty then of Judge Campbell to discharge the prisoner, and had he done so Henry Long might still have been a freeman. Instead of doing this, the Judge deferred the adjudication of the case, and meantime allowed the Marshal, who wrongfully held the prisoner, to retain him in his custody; so that when the counsel for the claimant, under the advice of his associate, George Wood, Esq., had abandoned the original process and instituted new proceedings before the District Court of the United States, the discharge of the prisoner and his re-arrest were simultaneous. Judge Andrew T. Judson, of Connecticut, acting for Judge Betts of this District, held the examination, and, after a long and able contest, surrendered the claimed fugitive, who was taken to Virginia and there sold at public auction to a negro trader, on condition that he should never be transferred to any one residing in a free State.*

Great excitement was produced in Boston, by an attempt to enforce the

* It should not be forgotten that Mr. George Wood was the presiding officer of the "Union Meeting," held at Castle Garden, New-York, Oct. 30th, 1850; and that the Union Safety Committee appointed at said meeting gave him a fee of five hundred dollars to appear as counsel for the Virginia slaveholder, who claimed to be the master of Henry Long. And it will not be out of place to mention in this connection, that Mr. Henry W. Western, the associate of Mr. Wood in the prosecution, received from this or some similar source a piece of plate with a suitable inscription and a complimentary letter; and that Mr. Tallmadge, the United States Marshal, presented the Chief of the Police a fowling-piece, in testimony of his gratitude for the efficient aid that had been afforded by two or three hundred of the police of New-York, in guarding the person and in securing the safe delivery of Long on board the cars that conveyed him to the South.

Fugitive Law in that city. Two slave-hunters, Knight and Hughes, came to arrest William and Ellen Crafts, alleged to have escaped several years ago from slavery in Georgia. It will be recollected that these persons were the actors in a romantic enterprise, that resulted in their escape to a free State, which has been widely published throughout the country. They escaped in this wise. Ellen, who was of very light complexion, dressed herself in men's clothes, and acted the part of a young planter threatened with a consumption, going to the North to take medical advice. William, being a full-blooded black, enacted, on the route, the part of an old family servant, upon whom his young master leaned for support. In this way, taking the most public routes, and mixing with the most genteel travellers, on board steamboats and at hotels, they safely arrived at Boston. They had the benefit of legal advice from several of the most distinguished lawyers of the city. Crafts shut himself up in his house, being advised that the outer door could not be broken for the purpose of serving a warrant on civil process. Meantime, various technical objections were raised against the odious and unconstitutional statute, and the proceedings had under it. After a few weeks' trial all attempts to arrest them proved useless.

In February, an alleged fugitive slave named Shadrach was arrested by a United States Marshal in a coffee-house in Boston, and conveyed to the Circuit Court room, where a crowd of spectators speedily gathered. A warrant was issued by Commissioner George Ticknor Curtis, upon complaint of John Rupper, agent of John De Bree, of Norfolk, Va., a purser in the United States navy. Seth J. Thomas, Esq., appeared for claimant; S. E. Sewall, E. G. Loring, Esqs., and others for defendant. Sundry documents were read. They consisted of depositions taken before a United States Judge at Norfolk, to the effect that Shadrach was the slave of De Bree, and that he escaped on 3d May, 1850.

At the conclusion of the reading, the Commissioner postponed the further consideration of the case from Saturday till the next Tuesday. The court-room was then gradually cleared of its occupants, the prisoner remaining in the custody of the Deputy Marshal and his assistants. While his counsel were conferring with him, the stairway and the avenues of the court-house were crowded with a large collection of persons. About two o'clock, after the consultation of the attorneys with the prisoner had ceased, and they had all retired except one of them who was leaving the court-room, (which had been locked since the adjournment of the hearing, with several officers stationed at each door,) the door was forcibly thrown open by a band of colored men, who, with loud cries of "Tear him away!" filled the room and staircase to the number of a hundred or more. No adequate description, said a writer of a newspaper communication, can be given of the scene. The attack was so sudden that the officers had no time to gather round the prisoner, but were "kicked, cuffed, and knocked

about in every direction," and the prisoner was seized by the mob and carried off in triumph. The sword of the Marshal was taken from its place in the court-room, by a man of color, flourished over the heads of the crowd, and afterwards found lying in a gutter. No white person, it is believed, was engaged in the rescue, although one or more, besides several colored men, were afterwards arrested, indicted and held for trial.

A great outcry was made by the officials; the subject was brought by Mr. Clay before the Senate; the presses at Washington urged the Government to decisive action at the imminent crisis; and the President so far yielded to the clamor as to issue a proclamation, calling upon his fellow-citizens to rally, and commanding all officers, civil and military, in and near Boston, to assist in quelling unlawful combinations and in recapturing the "prisoner." This proclamation was given under the hand and seal of the President of the United States, Feb. 18, Anno Domini 1851; it was countersigned by Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, and sent to all parts of the country. But the prey had escaped, and found refuge in the dominions of the Queen of England. Sober-minded men, of different parties, marvelled that an Executive Proclamation, usually reserved for great emergencies, should have been promulgated on an occasion of this sort. It served, however, to show a portion of the South, that a Northern President might be depended on to subserve the interests of chattel slavery.

A more serious affair, connected with the Fugitive Slave Law, has recently transpired in the capital of Massachusetts. Thomas Sims, a man of color, was arrested as a fugitive. He made a stout resistance, and slightly wounded a city police officer, who was forward in arresting him. He was at last overpowered by the aid of a large posse of watchmen and taken to the court-house, where he passed the night, guarded by the Marshal, Gen. Devens, and several of his deputies. The prisoner was claimed by James Potter, of Chatham, Ga. The next day he was taken to the United States court-room, before Commissioner Curtis; Seth J. Thomas, Esq., appearing as counsel for claimant, and Hon. Robert Rantoul, Jr., Charles G. Loring and Samuel E. Sewall, Esqs., for the defendant. Witnesses were examined on the part of the claimant. At the request of the counsel for the defense, the case was adjourned till the next day.

Outside of the court-house there was much excitement; and around the building chains had been hung, inside of which a large number of police officers were stationed. As the Court of Common Pleas and the Supreme Court of the State were holding their terms, the Judges were compelled, in passing to and fro, to bow down under the chain:—a fit emblem of the humiliation of the free States at the present time. For several days the city was under great excitement, the prisoner remaining confined in the upper room of the court-house, the counsel making

strenuous efforts in his behalf, and Mayor Bigelow taking unusual measures to aid the claimant and his abettors, under pretense of preserving the peace of the city.

An affidavit of the prisoner was read, which stated that he had been free as long as he could remember. Application was made to the Supreme Court of the State for a writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which was peremptorily disallowed, on the ground that if a return should be made that he was held by the Marshal, by virtue of a warrant from the Commissioner, it must be considered as a sufficient return. A writ was afterwards allowed by Mr. Justice Woodbury, of the Supreme Court of the United States, who, on inquiring into the facts, dismissed the case, after making some "patriotic" remarks, which elicited the applause of the spectators. Messrs. Rantoul and Loring, with great power and eloquence, argued the unconstitutionality of the nefarious Bill.

Public meetings were held in Tremont Temple, during the day and evening of Tuesday, which were attended by highly respectable citizens, including many ladies. Addresses of great power and eloquence were made, and spirited resolutions were enthusiastically adopted. On Saturday, a mass meeting was held on Boston Common—Faneuil Hall and the State-House yard having been denied—at which several earnest speeches were made. On Sunday, the following request was sent to the clergymen of Boston and the vicinity, and in several instances was feelingly complied with:—

The undersigned, a freeman, and in peril, desire the prayers of this congregation, that God may deliver him from the oppressor, and restore him to freedom.

his
THOMAS N. SIMS.
mark.

The Commissioner finally decided to give a certificate. The next morning, the Marshal, with his deputies, and a large escort of police officers, conveyed the prisoner to a vessel manned by Northern seamen, lying at the end of Long Wharf, waiting to depart for Savannah. The Marshal, his deputies, &c., accompanied the vessel down the harbor, and several officers proceeded with the prisoner to Georgia.*

Some of the Boston merchants and manufacturers have been alarmed at a rumor that a portion of their trade with the South would be diverted to other cities in consequence of the anti-slavery agitation, and they have

* It was stated in the papers that the poor slave expressed entire willingness to return to the South, and that he even amused the company by singing,

"Oh, carry me back to Ole Virginny."

The same was said of the fugitive Henry Long, but we presume, as in this case, untruly. It is not an uncommon occurrence for slaveholders and their understrappers to compel slaves to sing for their amusement, or to make a mock exhibition of hilarity. "For those that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they that wasted us, required of us mirth."

not got over their apprehensions that a modification of the tariff, promotive of their interests, will not be made, as they had been led to expect from the adroit intinnations made by Mr. Webster in his communications to them, previously to his acceptance of the office of Secretary of State. It is their policy, therefore, to keep up an appearance of patriotic zeal for the "compromises of the Constitution" and the "rights" of the Southern States, and to be regardful of the policy of the present administration. Similar threats of the withdrawal of trade have been made with regard to New-York, to check anti-slavery tendencies among the merchants of that city. But those who utter these threats, as well as those alarmed by them, forget that trade has fixed laws, and that natural advantages in the hands of enterprise and integrity always insure profitable and desirable trade. Even were it otherwise, it would seem as if the "merchant princes" of our great cities might sacrifice a portion of their gains, rather than put their principles into the market. The example of John Hancock should not be forgotten.

Other cases of arrest have occurred in different States, all serving to render the Fugitive Bill abhorrent to good men, its authors and abettors the subjects of the contempt and indignation of the community, and slavery, its legitimate parent, the deserved object of execration.

These cruel proceedings under the Bill produced, as might have been anticipated, consternation on the part of the people of color, and indignation on that of the friends of humanity. Colored citizens were alarmed because their liberty was jeopardized, and the fugitives scattered up and down the free States were terrified beyond measure. Some had married and were happily settled; some were, by hard labor, supporting aged relatives; others were attending sick wives or children. The practical application of the law upon one deemed to be a free man, justly alarmed those who had been born in free States, and who were liable to be sworn into slavery at any time; and the poor man, once a slave, who had thought himself secure, after living so long in a free State, felt himself obliged, as winter was setting in, to abandon his home, leave his family in indigence and distress, and flee for refuge to a colder clime, but beneath the aegis of a so-called monarchical government.

We might relate instances of individual suffering among the young, the sick, and the aged, that should melt even hearts of stone.* Their sorrows are chronicled in heaven, and will be revealed at the judgment-day.

* A correspondent of the *Tribune* writes from Trenton, N. J., as follows:—"A melancholy effect of the infernal Fugitive Slave Law has just occurred here. Two or three evenings since, it became rumored among the blacks that slave-catchers were in town. The fear is very prevalent among that class, and, indeed, is well grounded, that any one of them may be taken away, by purchased affidavits; consequently they are all in much alarm. One man, on hearing the above rumor, named William Gordon, a very decent colored man, became so much excited by fright, that it threw him in a state of paralysis, of which he died this morning. When will the North be roused? When, oh! when will there be 'a North?'"

"For the needy shall not always be forgotten; the expectation of the poor shall not perish forever."

Instances have occurred of the dispersion of almost entire churches. From the *Evening Post* we extract the following:—

The Baptist Colored church at Buffalo has suffered a large diminution of its numbers in consequence of the Fugitive Slave Law. One hundred and thirty of the communicants, as we are informed by the pastor, left the place from fear of arrest on the charge of being fugitive slaves, and have passed over to Canada.

The Methodist church in the same place has also lost a considerable number of its members from the same cause. There is said to be among these more disposition to make a stand, and to evade or resist the law, than among their Baptist brethren. Somebody had advised them to arm themselves and defend their liberty. The Baptist pastor, however, told his people that he found in the gospel examples which justified running away, but no examples which warranted fighting.

The Colored Baptist church at Rochester, which formerly numbered one hundred and fourteen communicants, has lost them all except two, since the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law. The pastor, a native Kentuckian, was the first to flee, and the whole flock followed him. The Colored Baptist church at Detroit has lost eighty-four of its members from the same cause. They abandon their homes and their occupations, sell such property as they cannot conveniently carry with them, and seek refuge in Canada.

Meantime, the number of persons escaping from their masters does not seem to be essentially lessened by the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. Since it was passed, we are informed from the same source which furnishes us with the particulars already given, eighty-seven fugitive slaves from the South have passed through Buffalo, on their way to Canada.

A large proportion of the colored persons, who have fled from the free States, have sought refuge in Canada, where they have been received with remarkable kindness, and have testified their grateful sense of this reception by their exemplary conduct. It is stated in the *Christian Citizen*, that the sheriff of one of the Districts has given Mr. Henson, a worthy colored agent of the fugitives, a certificate that, during fifteen years, with a black population of from three to five thousand, not a single negro has come under legal custody or animadversion for any crime or misdemeanor whatever. Persons of high respectability, residing in other Districts, have borne testimony to the exemplary conduct of the fugitives, highly honorable to them, and encouraging to all the friends of emancipation.

The merchants in New-York who were active in getting up the Union meeting, besides sustaining newspapers that advocate Southern views, sent papers and handbills all over the South, denouncing their neighbors who declined signing the call for the "Castle Garden Meeting," or who had expressed sentiments hostile to the "peculiar institution," in order to deter Southern merchants from purchasing goods of them, and to increase their own business;—all, of course, under the plea of patriotism, and of supreme reverence for the sentiments contained in the Farewell Address of Washington.* Some of these merchants issued cards, announcing to their Southern customers that they were not opposed to their institutions,

* This Address in full was annexed to the published proceedings of the Castle Garden meeting, and sent abroad with a report of the inflammatory speeches of the attorneys on that occasion.

and did not fellowship Northern merchants and others who were. These nefarious measures, calculated to alarm persons engaged in trade, to induce them to suppress their real convictions and avow opinions not honestly held, were but too successful with the mass, both merchants and lawyers. Here and there a man was found who would not submit to such dictation, and scorned to earn his bread by sycophancy. Among them was a firm dealing largely in silk goods, a portion of whose customers resided in the slave States. Having been denounced by pliable and patriotic rivals, who had been pre-eminently active in originating the Union meeting, they issued the following card :*—

The public, including the New-York Journal of Commerce, are informed that we are silk merchants, and keep an extensive and well-assorted stock of goods, which we offer to responsible buyers on reasonable terms. As individuals, we entertain our own views on the various religious, moral and political questions of the day, which we are neither afraid nor ashamed to declare on all proper occasions. But we wish it distinctly understood that our goods, and not our principles, are in the market. The attempt to punish us as *merchants* for the exercise of our liberty as *citizens*, we leave to the judgment of the community.

BOWEN & McNAMEE.

New-York, Oct. 26, 1850.

Not to be outdone in patriotic zeal, several prominent clergymen in the city of New-York and elsewhere, instigated by influential politicians, delivered discourses virtually in favor of sustaining the Compromise, and in opposition to anti-slavery agitation, as a means of preserving the Union, which they affected to believe was in imminent peril.† The Union Safety Committee complimented the authors, requested for publication such of these discourses as were most in accordance with their views, and distributed large editions of them throughout the country, numbers being sent to Washington to be franked by members of Congress.‡

* Hon. Horace Mann, in his speech at Boston, April 10th, 1851, at the Grand Mass Convention against the Fugitive Slave Bill, said:—"I rejoice that this reference to the demoralizing power of interest gives me an opportunity to bestow well-deserved honor and praise upon a class of men who have withstood its temptations. Not every man engaged in manufactures or in commerce has yielded to the seductions of this tempter. There are many noble exceptions. I have in my mind one of my own constituents, largely interested in the fabric, who told me last summer that half his spindles were lying idle, and property that should have yielded income was incurring cost; 'but,' said he, 'do you see them *all* stop, and the mills decay and go down stream, before you vote for that compromise.' Another of my constituents told me he was largely interested in three ships, then at sea, but avowed he would see them all sink to its bottom before he would disgrace the country by passing the Fugitive Slave Bill. These are but specimens of that noble spirit which was expressed with such Spartan terseness by Bowen & McNamee of New-York, when the foul panderers to Southern slavery threatened them with a loss of custom. Said they, 'We sell silks, not principles.'"

† Had these clergymen looked to the stock-market instead of the demagogues they would have learned that neither in this country nor in Europe has there been the slightest apprehension of a dissolution of the Union in consequence of the slavery agitation. During the highest excitement in Congress, no material change took place in American stocks. A few timid holders sold out at about half of one per cent. less than the previous sales, but the stocks were soon higher than usual.

‡ A gentleman in Washington, who had written an article on the Divine Law, wrote to a correspondent in New-York, under date of April 11, 1851, as follows:

Some of these discourses were circulated, with warm encomiums, in newspapers that, until pro-slavery sermons began to appear, had censured ministers of the gospel for applying its principles to the political relations of men, for preaching political sermons. The sentiments of these divines sometimes exhibited a singular and amusing contrast to anti-slavery sentiments to which they had given utterance on previous occasions. Their new-born zeal for slavery received the marked commendation of active politicians and eminent statesmen, some of whom honored the preachers for the first time with attendance on their ministrations, and by commendatory notes of approbation.*

A few extracts will be made, as samples of some of the discourses above mentioned.

REV. ROBERT DAVIDSON, D.D., of New-Brunswick, N. J., says :—

It is certain that, without certain constitutional guarantees, the South would never have entered into the Union. By letting their peculiar institutions alone, therefore, we lose nothing; we are just where we would have been without a Union. These are purely local laws, local institutions. . . . Slavery is an evil, but disunion would entail a thousand evils. One is a partial and a local evil; the other would be a universal and a national disaster. . . . The Union brings us a thousand blessings; let us not for a single doubtful benefit hazard them all.

REV. ICHABOD S. SPENCER, D.D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., of the Old School Presbyterian Church, indulges his humor as follows :—

It is a most marvellous thing, what a number of clergymen, north of Mason and Dixon's line, have all of a sudden become such great *constitutional lawyers*! Never before was any thing like it! It is a modern miracle! A decision upon a great constitutional question is nothing to them! How amazingly these profound legalists, these clergymen jurists, would adorn the high courts of the country, if they would only consent to take their seat upon the bench! The Judges of the United States Supreme Court ought to be thankful that these clergymen judges have done their duty for them in advance, deciding the law to be unconstitutional, and no more is to be done! Benevolent men, these clergymen! Some have done the duty of the jurors for them, and others the duty of the judges; the verdict and the decision are both recorded! yea, indeed, in advance and without pay!

REV. NATHAN S. S. BEMAN, D.D., of Troy, N. Y., of the New School Presbyterian Church, says :—

Take it (the Compromise) all in all, I go for it. Let it not be disturbed, even by any modification, for the present. To be sure, it contains some bitter pills, and they are not sugar-coated either! It is a little humiliating that the United States—that is, we—have given Texas ten millions of dollars for a part of the lands which belonged to *ourselves* and not to *her*, and left in her hands *twenty-five thousand square miles* of our own territory as a bribe or bonus, in order to make the ten millions go down with a better relish. But let Texas have it all, money and lands, for she is *poor*; and this settles the encroachments of slavery in our Republic for ever. Call it a dowry to our feeble young sister, if you please."

"You may think some of my reflections upon pro-slavery clergymen too harsh. You would not, had you seen the cart-loads of their arguments in favor of the Fugitive Act and slavery generally, kept for distribution in this city, and now kept, which I have seen."

* These notes were furnished the pro-slavery editors for publication, and the receiver of one of them, addressed to him by the Secretary of State, could not repress his joy at its reception, but laid it before his people at his weekly lecture.

Rev. JOHN M. KREBS, D.D., of New-York city, says:—

Slavery was a domestic institution of the Israelites, actually recognized and allowed by the God of Israel. Did He, by the same law, both permit slavery and enjoin the emancipation of the fugitive? The idea is absurd, and the assertion makes Jehovah contradict himself. . . . Can we afford to have the refugee slave population of the South poured in upon us? Are they more moral, more religious, more happy here than they are alleged to be where they now are? And is the North prepared to welcome them *en masse*? In the single aspect of the measure, as a *sanitary cordon*, as a measure of police, the law and the compact of the Constitution may find its justification.

Rev. L. E. LATROP, D.D., Auburn, N. Y., holds the following language:—

What is the duty of the citizen and the Christian? We answer, that both patriotism and Christianity require that the law should be obeyed. . . . If, by any act of legislation by this confederated government, we are required to restore to them that property to which they have a legal right, however much we may doubt the morality of that claim or the law upon which it is founded, the duty of good citizenship and the claims of true patriotism would demand obedience to the law. The responsibility in regard to the morality or the wisdom of the law rests not with us. That lies somewhere else. But with us is the responsibility of obeying the laws of the land, which have been established by the powers that be, and that are ordained of God.

Rev. JOHN C. LORD, D.D., of Buffalo, N. Y., speaks as follows:—

Never, since the eventful day on which our independence of the mother country was declared, has it been more obvious than during the struggles of the past year, that sound discretion and heavenly charity, those guardian angels of our liberties, though with fluttering wings, were hovering over our honored capital. Those there were who would have sundered the bonds that bound us together, even at the sacrifice of that charter of our hopes which they had sworn to maintain; and those there were, the true representatives of the nation, who remembered the struggles and the compromise of their fathers, and were true to their oaths, true to the Constitution, and true to the country. And, thank God, their counsels were predominant.

We make no war upon the domestic institutions of the South. Their institutions are not our concern. We do not disturb them; we never have disturbed them; we do not mean to disturb them. To the free colored man we open our doors and our churches; but we do not want fugitive slaves. They may be good men—there is *prima facie* evidence that they are bad. They are a trouble to us; they corrupt our population, overload our prisons, and one of the benefits of this law is, that they are so rapidly disappearing from the midst of us. . . . I have no hesitation in saying that it would be the greater sin at once to break up the system of slavery, and leave the slave to wander a vagabond in the earth, and thus become his tempter to crime. It would be unkind to the slave. Another is, that the harmony, the union, the unbroken integrity of these States is more to the slave, more to the master, more to the world than all the fugitive slaves the land contains. They ought not to cost so dear. . . . Do what we will for the slave; dispute for him till you sow discord among brethren; fight for him till the land is covered with gore and dismembered, and you never can put the negro race on a par with the descendants of Shem and Japhet.

Let us not talk of a higher law, which absolves men from obedience to a Constitution which they have sworn to maintain. . . . The forms of freedom are of little consequence to him who is made by color and caste a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water;" . . . but I am fully persuaded that colonization can alone secure those advantages, and give to the African that which alone makes personal freedom and free institutions valuable. . . . A more unprofitable and inconsequential abstraction (agitations on the subject of slavery) was never before made to disturb the peace and hazard the existence of a great empire.

Rev. GARDINER SPRING, D.D., New-York:—

If by one prayer I could liberate every slave in the world, I would not dare to offer it.

Rev. MOSES STUART, late Professor in the Theological Institution at Andover, in his vindication of the Bill, reminds his readers, that many Southern slaveholders are *true* Christians; that sending back a fugitive to them is not like restoring one to an idolatrous people; that though we may pity the fugitive, yet the Mosaic law does not authorize the rejection of the claims of the slaveholders to their stolen or strayed *property*.

Rev. ORVILLE DEWEY, D.D., of the Unitarian connection, asserts, that it is a duty to return fugitives, and he would send his own brother or child into slavery rather than that the Union between the free and slave States should be dissolved. "Your right," he says, "to be free is not absolute, unqualified, irrespective of all consequences. Personal rights ought to be sacrificed to the general good."

The Rev. W. M. ROGERS, an Orthodox minister of Boston, delivered on the last Thanksgiving day, a sermon in which he says: "When the slave asks me to stand between him and his master, what does he ask? He asks me to *murder a nation's life*; and I will not do it because I have a conscience—because there is a God." He proceeds to affirm that if this resistance to the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave Law should lead the magistracy to call the citizens to arms, their duty would be to obey; and, "if ordered to take human life, in the name of God to take it." And he concludes by admonishing the fugitives to "hearken to the Word of God, and to count their own masters worthy of all honor."

Rev. WILLIAM CROWELL, of Waterville, State of Maine, has printed a Thanksgiving sermon of the same kind, in which he calls upon his hearers not to allow "excessive sympathies for a few hundred fugitives to blind them so as that they may risk increased suffering to the millions already in chains."

The Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, the Principal of the Theological Department of Yale College, at New-Haven, Connecticut, made a speech, at a late Union meeting, in which he deprecates the agitation upon the new law, and urges obedience to it, asking, "Is that article in the Constitution contrary to the law of nature, of nations, or to the will of God? Is it so? Is there a shadow of reason for saying it? I have not been able to discover it. Have I not shown you it is lawful to deliver up, in compliance with their laws, fugitive slaves, for the high, the great, the momentous interest of those [Southern] States?"

Rev. Dr. PARKER, Philadelphia: "There are no evils in slavery but such as are inseparable from any other relation in civil and social life."

Rev. Bishop HOPKINS, Vermont: "Slavery is warranted by the Old Testament. What effect has the gospel in doing away with slavery? *None whatever.*"

It is refreshing to turn from these unworthy sentiments, to extracts from discourses and essays published about the same time by another class of preachers. Nothing has occurred during the anti-slavery agita-

tion in this country, more cheering to those engaged in it, than the independent and manly utterance of such noble sentiments.

Rev. R. S. STORRS, Jr., of Brooklyn, N. Y., Pastor of the (Congregational) Church of the Pilgrims:—

The man, thus dwelling by my side, is claimed by the person whom he formerly served. He is pursued by the officer. He is in peril of being taken. He comes to me for help and shelter, and for counsel in flight. The law of Congress says to me, "You shall not give it." The law of Congress says to me, "You shall grasp that neighbor, at the call of the officer, and deliver him to his pursuers." The question for me is, "Is that law a right one?" Not, "Was it passed with the proper formalities; or, Has it been certified by the proper officers?" Not even as a primary question, "Is it agreeable to the laws that preceded and that gird it; or, Is it likely to be enforced by the arm of the State?" The question is other and higher than these. It concerns me as immortal, and a subject of God. "Is this law right? Is it equitable and just? Does it agree with the law which God has given me, when he tells me to love my neighbor as myself? If I seize that man, and deliver him up; if I refuse to shelter and to help him, shall I do that which God approves? which I can meet with joy at the judgment, when human enactments shall have vanished and been forgotten?"

In answer to this question, there comes to me the law which God gave to Israel: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee: He shall dwell *with* thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best: THOU SHALT NOT OPPRESS HIM." This specific requirement may have terminated upon the Hebrews; but if its principle were right, even in that darkened and barbarous age, how can it be otherwise under the blaze of Christianity? . . . Why shall I not help him, in his struggle for the rights that God gave him indelibly, when he made him a man? There is nothing to prevent, but the simple requirement of my equals in the State; the parchment of the law which they have written. But where will that parchment be when I meet this my brother in the judgment? Where will that parchment be when Christ shall say to me, with my eternity depending on his words, "I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat! I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink! I was naked, and ye clothed me not! I was a stranger, and ye took me not in! Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it not to ME."

Nay! NAY! my friends! I cannot do this essential injustice! Though the commands of the law were an hundred fold more stringent, I would not touch a hair of that man's head! Though its penalties were accumulated to tenfold greatness, they should not shut my doors against him! I will not resist the law by force and violence. I will even advise the man to flee it if he can, and not resist it, although it hurls him back upon his right of self-defense. But I *will not* obey it, unless by bearing its penalties. The man who does otherwise is in peril of his soul. For Eternity is grander than Time and its scenes! The Eye that shall search our life at the judgment, is more terrible than that of the human tribunal; and he that hath done wrong, shall meet it there! The omniscience of God will never forget it! I do not find that my fathers covenanted that I should do this act; but if they did, it must be cancelled. I cannot renew a covenant for such crime. . . . We must NEVER do wrong! It is right to obey magistrates, as the officers of society, so long as they rule justly. "Put them in mind," says the apostle, and I to-day repeat and urge it, "to be subject to principalities, to obey magistrates, and to be ready to *every* good work." But God has given us a law that is primary; that concerns us as immortal; that supersedes every other. When human law conflicts with this, it is duty to disobey that. We must say, with Peter, "We ought to obey God rather than men." And God's law is decisive, unequivocal, extending always to each of *us*—revealed to conscience as light is to the eye! "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart; and thou shalt love thy neighbor AS THYSELF." There is none other commandment—on earth or in heaven—that is greater than these.

Rev. NATHANIEL COLVER, of the Baptist denomination, Boston:—

Such is the inherent and manifest iniquity of this Bill, such its hostility to the law of God, as to render disobedience to its demands a solemn duty. . . . Obedience to this Bill will render us the efficient and direct responsible supporters of

slavery itself. . . . This Bill demands a palpable and flagrant violation of that universal and indispensable law of life, pressed upon us by the express command of our Lord: "Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them: for this is the law and the prophets." . . . Obedience to this Bill involves an outrage upon every law of hospitality to the stranger, and of charity to the needy, which the gospel enjoins; as well as upon every generous, manly, or religious prompting of the heart. . . . Obedience to this Bill involves a direct violation of many, very many of the moral precepts of the Bible. . . . This Bill should be abhorred and trampled under foot by every man, because it enjoins the commission of one of the blackest crimes specified in the divine catalogue."

REV. HENRY WARD BEECHER, of Brooklyn, N. Y., Minister of the Congregational "Plymouth Church :"—

The Fugitive Slave Law is a law which, upon occasion, makes it the duty of citizens to assist in putting a fellow-being into the rank of animals; nay, it makes it a duty to refuse the commonest humanities of life to a miserable wretch striving to escape such degradation, and to secure to himself those rights which every American has been taught that God gave to every man alike, and which crime only can alienate. A law to make citizens the inflictors of wrongs the most fatal, for which, once committed, no patience can bring a remedy, is such an insult to moral sense and common sense that the Christianity of a land which should tamely obey it would be a solemn mockery. What are we asked to do? To keep the compromise of the Constitution by violating the fundamental declaration of the Bill of Rights. To stand by when a wretch emerging from slavery begins to straighten up upon the level of manhood, to plunge him under the slimy wave again! We are asked to send men back to laws that deny their manhood. We, that are ministers of the gospel, are asked to teach our people the duty of obeying a law that sends a slave back, where it is a felony to teach him to read the Bible; to a condition which is almost universally without the gospel; we are to send back women to the lust of their masters; and to convert men, now of a long time industrious citizens, into chattels, to be advertised as cattle, driven in droves like cattle, sold and fed and worked like cattle, to die as a dog dieth, and to be covered down as a dog is buried! The phrase, to return a fugitive, is very harmless in its sound; but in its sense it comprises every offense that it is possible for one man to commit against another. This is the marrow of that Bill which churches are denounced as traitors for not supporting! When we have ceased to pray; when we have rooted out the humanities which since our connection with the gospel have been growing within us; when we have burned our Bibles and renounced our God, then we will join with those whose patriotism exhibits itself in disrobing men of every natural right, and driving them from light and religion into gross heathenism.

REV. SAMUEL T. SPEAR, of Brooklyn, N. Y., of the New School Presbyterian Church :—

I am not able to view the act in any other light than as a gross moral wrong against the victim. I put the matter directly to the conscience of the hearer. If it is not morally wrong before God to capture a man who has committed no crime, and forcibly drag him back to a bondage he loathes, and has a right to loathe, and which he has done his best to shun—if this be not morally wrong, then what is there in the distinction between right and wrong, that is of any moment? . . . My view of man is such that I could neither agree to do the thing, nor do it to fulfil the agreement of others. I would sooner die than be its agent. The higher law of Eternal Right would be in my way; and by its decision I must abide.

REV. DR. CHEEVER, of the city of New-York, Minister of the (Congregational) Church of the Puritans :—

Every evil must be looked in the face, and God's mercy must be sought in conquering it. No right principles must ever be sacrificed for the sake of union. . . . Every attempt at disunion is treason, and so are many of the pretended alarms of disunion. . . . Let every man seek for the things that truly make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another; but let him not think that peace cometh by concealing sin or justifying iniquity, or hardening ourselves in oppression or setting our will and our statutes in rebellion against God's Word.

Rev. CHARLES BEECHER, Minister of the Free Congregational Church of Newark, N. J.:—

Thus the legislation of 1850, to recapture fugitives, is immeasurably more shameful than that of 1793. I blush that our fathers should have framed, that Washington should have signed the latter, but I cannot believe they would have done it had they lived to our day. Much less can I believe they would have sanctioned a law whose provisions are so much more repugnant as are those of the law now under review. . . . Is *this* the law that is to consecrate in new holiness that statute born in sin, brought forth in shame, and grown up to manhood in unwashed corruption? . . . A law which does me injury is one thing. A law which makes me do wrong is another. The first I may submit to while seeking its repeal. To the latter I must not give place by subjection, no, not for an hour. The men that refuse obedience to such laws are the sure, the only defenders of law."

Rev. W. S. LEAVITT, Pastor of the Eliot Church, Newton, Mass.:—

All human law has its authority from God; and it can never be binding except so far as it can be obeyed consistently with our obedience to God. It may be our duty to submit to a law that unjustly requires us to *suffer* wrong; but we have no right to obey a law that requires us to *do* wrong. And when God's law and man's law come in conflict, we must give God's the preference, for we are sure in such a case that the law of man is wrong, and to obey it would be a sin. . . . But humanity is as much a part of religion as godliness; the second table of the law is as binding as the first; and an ordinance that forbids kindness to the oppressed, or makes humanity a curse, is at least as wicked as one that requires us to bow down to idols, or to refrain from prayer, and as little to be obeyed. Human enactments never can set aside the changeless claims of the law of God.

Rev. JOSEPH P. THOMPSON, Pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, New-York:—

But how shall we act towards an unrighteous law—a law demanding what conscience and the Word of God forbid? We know how the Puritans acted under the oppressive measures of Laud and the tyrannical Stuarts, and we are accustomed to praise them, as does Hume, as the fathers of civil and religious liberty. We know how the martyrs and confessors of the Christian faith in all ages have acted under laws that did violence to their religious convictions. These have been orderly and peaceable citizens, supporting government, making no rebellion, but choosing to suffer the *penalty* of unrighteous laws, rather than to sin against God by obeying such laws. Nearly all that is noble and heroic in history, nearly all that has been accomplished for the emancipation and the progress of the race, stands connected with the decision, the self-denial and the suffering of these conscientious, these "obstinate" men. As to what is duty towards fugitives from slavery, let every one be fully persuaded in his own mind. The laws of the free States know no such thing as a slave; and for our part, living where personal liberty and life are made secure, we shall never acknowledge any man in the streets of our abode to be any thing but a man, having the same right to walk the streets and breathe the air, the same right to protection in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that God has given us. If to act on such a principle be an iniquity to be punished by the judge, then do we accept the penalty; saying with Paul before Festus, "for if I be an offender, or have committed any thing worthy of death, I refuse not to die." The fugitive shall have bread; he shall have money; he shall have shelter; though at the cost of fines and imprisonment.

Rev. RUFUS W. CLARK, Pastor of the North Church, Portsmouth, N. H.:

While human government is of divine appointment, and is essential to the very existence of society, yet it has no power to *require its subjects to commit sin*. . . . There can be no dispute as to the general statement that government has no authority to *compel us to do wrong*. Our first and highest duty is that which we owe to God. . . . Any human law . . . that conflicts with either of these two great enactments, (the first and second commandments of God's law,) cannot be binding upon the consciences of men. To maintain the contrary of this, is to attempt to overthrow the government of Heaven. It is to place human constitutions above the constitution of God's moral universe. It is to value the Union of these States

above the union of the millions of worlds that comprise the kingdom of the Supreme Lawgiver and Judge.

Rev. W. H. FURNESS, Pastor of the First Congregational Unitarian Church, Philadelphia:—

My hearers, the existence of this law, abrogating as it does the law of humanity and of Christ, is a fountain of deadly poison in our midst, blinding our understandings, hardening our hearts, searing our consciences, falsifying all our religious professions, and perilling the salvation of our souls. Unless we ignore our manhood, renounce for ever our reason and our humanity, we must perceive now that we cannot remain neutral. We cannot be indifferent, without being indifferent to every thing that is manly, just and Christian. Here, in and through the fugitive slave, Christ speaks to us, and God. Eternal Justice, that Truth which is from everlasting to everlasting, which no one questions, whatever else may be disputed, addresses us, and commands us to do for our wronged brother as we would have him do for us, were we in his place. We are commanded to regard him as if it were Christ himself who claimed our sympathy and our aid. In the providence of Heaven, here is the grand test of our religious soundness, of our Christian integrity; if we evade this test, our religion is worthless, and though we may still say that we love God, and may still worship God, and profess to serve Him with a thousand offerings of praise and prayer and active charity, yet if we hate our brother, or, which is the same thing, neglect him as if we hated him, we are liars in the sight of God, and all our professions are in vain. We are yet in our sins, impenitent and unredeemed.

We have reason to believe that a large number of ministers of the gospel of different denominations have spoken out boldly in reference to the Fugitive Slave Bill, and that during the past year a larger number than at any previous time have preached an anti-slavery gospel. This is, we conceive, the most encouraging sign of the times. When, as a general thing, those who minister at God's altar proclaim the truth in its fulness with regard to this giant iniquity, the churches may be expected to be right on the subject.

The religious press, conducted principally by clergymen, has, with some exceptions, proclaimed its opposition to the unjust law with unusual clearness and fidelity; and some of these publications, edited with much talent, have with remarkable eloquence and power vindicated the claims of humanity. Many of their ablest articles have been transferred into the secular press, and thus religion (through that portion of its ministers) has been duly honored by large numbers who hitherto have had too much cause to believe that no inconsiderable number of the professed ambassadors of Christ were recreant to their Divine Master.

Being fully persuaded that the conduct of a large number of the ministers of the gospel in this country, from the commencement of the anti-slavery enterprise, has thrown obstacles in the way of its progress, and brought Christianity itself into disesteem, we rejoice to see talented and devoted ministers, especially the young, standing forth boldly as the champions of human rights, and refusing to be made the instrument of political men in defending iniquitous laws and party schemes.* We doubt

* It is said on good authority, that Daniel Webster went in person to Andover to request the signature of Professor Stuart to the letter from the merchants, manufacturers, and professional men of Boston and the vicinity, and the aid of his pen in sustaining him; that he took with him a Custom-house officer to call on the Pro-

not the number of such will be continually increasing, and that their seniors in the ministry who have been lukewarm on this subject, or opposed to the cause, will find their influence diminishing.

Of those who have borne witness against the Fugitive Slave Law, we have room to notice only the following, in addition to those already named :—

At a "Preachers' Meeting," consisting of the Methodist ministers of New-York, Brooklyn, and Williamsburg, November 9, 1850, more than thirty ministers being present, the subject of the Fugitive Slave Bill was very fully discussed, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Whereas an act was passed at the last session of Congress entitled "an Act to amend, and supplementary to an act respecting fugitives from justice, and persons escaping from the service of their masters, approved Feb. 12, 1793;" and, whereas, said act virtually denies the right of habeas corpus, the privilege of trial by jury, and the right of appeal to an individual arrested under said act, on charge of being a fugitive from slavery, and also provides for the summary removal of such individual to the land of slavery upon "certificates" issued in a remote station, and "affidavits" that may be equally difficult of legal scrutiny, and which this bill declares "shall be conclusive of the right of the person" claiming such fugitive so to remove him, and cutting off "any process to prevent it, issued by any court, judge, magistrate, or other person whosoever:"

And whereas, the fee of ten dollars on rendition of a decision in favor of the slave-catcher, while only five is allowed should the decision be in favor of the alleged fugitive, may serve as a bribe to corrupt magistrates to decide against the fugitive :

And whereas, by said bill, "all good citizens are commanded to aid and assist" in the execution of its provisions; and power is given to the slave-catchers appointed by the commissioners, "within their counties respectively," "to summon and call to their aid" any one who may chance to be near—thus compelling him, under the pains and penalties of law, to assist, and making our broad domain a hunting-ground for men, women and children, whose only legal offense is that, like our forefathers, they prefer freedom to slavery, and act from the principle that they have a right to be free :

And whereas, the "summary manner" in which the provisions of this bill are to be executed, is all calculated to defeat the ends of justice and good government, while the facilities it affords the kidnappers are such as to render insecure the dearest and most sacred rights of our colored citizens; therefore,

1. *Resolved*, That said bill is inconsistent with the Declaration of our National Independence, and with the Constitution of the United States, the one of which affirms that *all men* are endowed by God with the inalienable rights of "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," and the other that "the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended unless when in case of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it," and also expressly guaranties that the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury.

2. *Resolved*, That said bill is inconsistent with the objects of our Federal Union, which, as set forth in the preamble to the Constitution, were, "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

3. *Resolved*, That said bill is iniquitous and unrighteous in its provisions, and in flagrant violation of the law of God,—it requires us to deliver up the fugitive, and commands all good citizens to assist, but God says, "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee;"—this bill requires us to place fetters upon the fugitive and send him back into bondage, while God

fessors and others for their signatures; and that Fletcher Webster went to Andover afterwards to assist Professor Stuart in correcting the proof-sheets of his pamphlet for the press! It should be recorded, to the honor of the young and talented Professors at that Seminary, that they refused to sign the letter.

says, "He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of the gates that liketh him best: thou shalt not oppress him."

4. *Resolved*, That it is the duty of all Christian men to seek, by all wise and prudent means, the immediate and unconditional repeal of said law; that this duty they owe to God, to their country, and to humanity.

(Signed)

D. W. CLARK,

W. K. STOFFORD,

E. E. GRISWOLD, *Chairman*.

M. D. C. CRAWFORD, *Secretary*.

The above resolutions, so honorable to the body adopting them, were denied insertion by the conductors of the organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as was alleged, from prudential reasons; yet it is believed that they are in accordance with the sentiments of a large number of the preachers in that denomination throughout the free States.*

Attempts have been made at meetings of laymen in the Methodist Church, chiefly in communities that trade with the South, to disparage the resolutions, and to show that they do not accord with the sentiments of the Methodist body at large. Were the Methodists in the Northern States wholly free from ecclesiastical connection with Methodists at the South, we are fully persuaded that the voice of a majority of them would be unequivocally expressed on behalf of human freedom.

An idea prevails somewhat that the Methodist Church North is entirely separated from the Methodist Church South, and that the separation was brought about by the opposition of the Northern party to slavery. In our last Annual Report, page 66, we showed that this was not the case. The statement has been denied, and it has been asserted that "no Annual Conference will elect a slaveholder to orders as a *travelling preacher*, although there may be some instances of electing such persons as local preachers." It was not said that there were *travelling preachers*, but *preachers*, who were slaveholders. There are many slaveholding ministers in that Church—ordained ministers. Itinerant preachers would find it very inconvenient to hold slaves, who must necessarily travel with them annually from one field of labor to another. We state, on the authority of the *True Wesleyan*, that so far as slavery is concerned, the Northern and Southern Church have the same discipline; that the M. E. Church always has cherished and still does cherish slaveholders in her bosom; that the M. E. Church has many slaveholding preachers, and ordains slaveholders to the work of the ministry; and that the Philadelphia Conference has ordained a slaveholder since the South separated, knowing him to be such. Much remains to be done in the M. E. Church North even, before it comes up to the standard of its illustrious founder, whose most matured sentiment, fearlessly announced, was, "SLAVERY IS THE SUM OF ALL VILLANIES."

* The Springfield, Mass., *Republican and Gazette* gives the following:—"The New England Methodist Convention, in session at Newburyport when Mr. Sumner was elected United States Senator, were treated to a special announcement of his election by a member of the body, when the whole Convention responded 'Amen!'"

The METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH sustains no equivocal position on the subject of slavery. On a motion, at the last Annual Meeting, June, 1850, to strike out the section pronouncing slavery a "moral evil," and binding to efforts for its "extirpation," thirty-three voted for and forty-three against it; but a majority moved originally, it is said, by Rev. Jefferson Hamilton, a Massachusetts man, adopted a note that the section had long since ceased to be operative! They might have included with the note not a few texts of the Bible.

The PROTESTANT METHODIST body, which is a secession from the M. E. Church, and extends over North and South, at its Quadrennial Conference at Baltimore, within the last year, had an exciting debate on the subject of striking out the word "white" in its Constitution, for the purpose of extending the right of suffrage to the colored members of the Church, and rendering them eligible to office. It was finally decided that the Conference had no jurisdiction over the subject of slavery. The members of the Church residing at the North are very generally anti-slavery, but it seems that in this religious body they are as yet in the minority.

It is surprising that the members of this branch of the Methodist denomination do not perceive that slaveholding eats out piety in the Church. While acknowledging its leanness as to spiritual things, they do not appear to imagine that one of the chief causes is slavery. After forsaking the counsels of Wesley on this subject, it is not to be wondered at, that his followers at the South have lost their spiritual discernment. But it is somewhat remarkable that the delinquency should be pointed out by a portion of the body in a slave State. At the last annual meeting of the Methodist Protestant General Conference, a communication was presented from the Manchester Circuit, of Virginia, calling attention to the fact that the increase in four years was not three members to each minister within the Church, or not four to each one belonging to the travelling connection; and they impute this melancholy state of things to the failure of the Church to carry out Christ's teaching in reference to the slaves.

Many ecclesiastical bodies have taken action against the Fugitive slave Bill. The Associate Reformed Church protested against it, and against those who "decree unrighteous decrees, and write grievousness which they have prescribed, to turn away the needy from justice, and to take away the right of the poor," solemnly warning the members of the Church not to accept or hold any office in the discharge of which they may be called upon to enforce this bill, and urging them to endure its utmost penalties rather than bring upon themselves the guilt and upon their religion the reproach of countenancing its odious requirements by engaging in its execution.

The NEW-YORK EVANGELICAL CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION resolved, "that we cannot recognize this law as of any binding force upon the citizens of our country," and gave very cogent reasons therefor.

The FREE-WILL BAPTIST CONFERENCE, consisting of about sixty ministers, from most of the free States in the Union, at the session in Providence, R. I., in October last, resolved that they could not obey the cruel and wicked law recently enacted by Congress, or sympathize with its framers or abettors; and that, considering the passage of the Bill an attempt to set human enactments above the Divine Law, it seemed to them incumbent upon every Christian to disregard such a law, as an infringement upon his duty to God and humanity.

Before their adjournment, they adopted the following petition to Congress:—

To the Hon. the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

The undersigned, officers of the General Conference of Free-Will Baptists of the United States, in obedience to the unanimous instructions of said Conference, given in Triennial Convention, composed of delegates representing fifty thousand communicants, assembled at Providence, R. I., October, 1850, respectfully petition your honorable bodies to repeal the "*Fugitive Slave Law*," passed at the last session of Congress; and as in duty bound will ever pray.

MARTIN CHENEY, *Moderator.*

THOMAS PERKINS, } *Assistant Moderators.*

JACOB W. DARLING, }

SILAS CURTIS, *Secretary.*

EBENEZER KNOWLTON, } *Assistant Secretaries.*

GEORGE H. BALL, }

At the annual meeting of the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION held at Rochester, N. Y., September last, the following resolutions were adopted:—

Resolved, That this Association, in the prosecution of its work, aims to promulgate the principles of Him who "came to preach deliverance to the captives," to "open the prison-doors to them that are bound," to relieve the oppressed, to enlighten the ignorant, to abolish caste, and to elevate men to the enjoyment of equal rights; and that it feels bound to adopt and inculcate every righteous principle which may, in the providence of God, be brought before the consideration of His people.

Resolved, That we believe the Christianity of the nation is about to be tested in view of the late act of Congress for the recovery of Fugitive Slaves, which appears equally at variance with the principles of this Association, the Constitution of the country, and the law of God; and that as Christians, we do solemnly covenant with each other and our colored brethren that we cannot obey it, nor any law that evidently contravenes the higher law of our Maker, whatever persecution or penalty we may be called to suffer.

The Synod of the FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES, at their meeting in April, 1851, issued a Declaration and Testimony against the Fugitive Slave Law. It is a powerful document. The Synod recommends that it be read from the pulpit on the Lord's day, so that all their people may hear it, and be called upon solemnly to express their adherence thereto in such a manner as may be deemed proper. The Synod testifies and declares unceasing hostility to the system of American slavery, and also disapprobation of the two branches of the Presbyterian Church in the United States from which they seceded, "and which still continue to authorize and justify the sin of slavehold-

ing, as it is practised by multitudes of their ministers, elders, and church members."

The Society of FRIENDS, at Quarterly Meeting at New-Brighton, Pa., adopted a memorial to Congress against the Fugitive Bill. We lament that this ancient and respectable association do not more generally and extensively emulate the example of their brethren in Great Britain, in taking prominent and efficient action on the subject of slavery. Their neglect to do so not only repels people of color from their community, but lessens the confidence of the colored race in the friendliness of that Society. We could wish also that the Friends were more thorough in manifesting their anti-slavery sentiments and memorializing legislative bodies, at their yearly meetings. At the last yearly meeting of that portion of the Society sympathizing with the late Elias Hicks, the appointment of a Committee on Slavery was refused, and the subject referred to the Representative Committee. The same body a few months previously memorialized Congress against the *African* slave-trade, without alluding to the *American* slave-trade at Washington and elsewhere in the country.*

The Governors of several of the free States have, in their communications to their respective legislative bodies, intimated their disapprobation of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and the Legislatures have evinced their accordance with such sentiments.

Vermont, as she has often done when human liberty has been invaded, took the lead. At the late session of the Legislature the following act was passed :—

AN ACT relating to the writ of *habeas corpus* to persons claimed as fugitive slaves, and the right of trial by jury.

It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont—

SEC. 1. The same power is hereby given to, and the same duties imposed upon, the circuit Judges of the several judicial circuits of this State, which are given to and imposed upon the Judges of the Supreme Court by the provisions of chapter thirty-eight of the Revised Statutes, entitled of "*Habeas Corpus*."

SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of State's attorneys, within their respective counties, whenever any inhabitant of this State is arrested or claimed as a fugitive slave, on being informed thereof, diligently and faithfully to use all lawful means to protect, defend, and procure to be discharged every such person so arrested or claimed as a fugitive slave.

SEC. 3. The application of any State's attorney in writing to any one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, or to any circuit Judge, signed by said State's attorney in his official capacity, stating in substance the name of the prisoner and the persons

* It is a well-known fact that since the days of Paul Cuffee, the number of colored members of the Society of Friends has been steadily diminishing. "It is," says the *Non-Slaveholder*, "a common practice to allow if not direct colored people to occupy the back seat in Friends' meeting-house, and thus their attendance is prevented." We noticed that in the same paper it was recently stated that the only colored member of the Society in North Carolina had lately deceased! It would be surprising, were it not well known that the natural tendency of all reformatory associations of Christians as they increase in numbers and wealth is to relinquish their distinguishing practices, that any of the followers of Fox and Penn should exhibit equivocal conduct on the subjects of slavery and caste.

detaining him, if known, and that the person arrested, claimed, or imprisoned, is arrested, claimed, or imprisoned as a fugitive slave, shall be sufficient authority to authorize the issuing of the writ of *habeas corpus*, as provided in said chapter thirty-eight of the Revised Statutes; and said writ may be signed by any one of said Judges, or the clerk of the Supreme or County Court; and said writ shall be made returnable to the Supreme or county court, when in session, in the county where such application is made; and in vacation said writ may be made returnable forthwith before either of the judges aforesaid.

SEC. 4. It shall be the duty of all judicial and executive officers in this State, in their respective counties, who shall know or have good reason to believe that any inhabitant of this State is about to be arrested or claimed as a fugitive slave, forthwith to give notice thereof to the State's attorney of the county in which such person resides.

SEC. 5. Whenever the writ of *habeas corpus* is granted in vacation, as provided in this act, or as provided by existing laws, if, upon the hearing of the same before any one of the Judges aforesaid, the person imprisoned, arrested, or claimed as a fugitive slave shall not be discharged, such person shall be entitled to an appeal to the next stated term of the County Court in the county where such hearing was had, on furnishing such bail, and within such time, as the Judge granting the writ, on hearing the case, shall adjudge to be reasonable and proper.

SEC. 6. The court to which such appeal is taken, and any other court to which a writ of *habeas corpus* in behalf of any such person claimed or arrested as a fugitive slave is made returnable, may and shall, on application of either party to such proceeding, allow and direct a trial by jury on all questions of fact in issue between the parties, in the matter aforesaid; and the taxable costs of such a trial shall be chargeable to the State, whenever the same would be otherwise chargeable to the person arrested or claimed as a fugitive slave.

SEC. 7. The several circuit Judges shall have the same powers now vested in the Judges of the Supreme Court, by virtue of an act in amendment of chapter one hundred and three of the Revised Statutes, relating to persons confined in close jail on executions of tort, approved November 13, A. D. 1848.

SEC. 8. This act shall take effect from its passage.

APPROVED, NOV. 13, 1850.

The pro-slavery press, as might have been expected, opened their batteries upon the "mad State," accusing it of a desire to scatter the Constitution to the winds, and with it the glorious Union! But an examination of the law will show that the patriotic Vermonters have kept strictly within the line of constitutional obligation, while they have secured to all within their boundaries the great bulwarks of liberty—the Habeas Corpus and the Jury Trial.

A powerful effort has been made to induce Pennsylvania to repeal the act of 1847, which forbade State officers aiding in the reclamation of fugitives, and its enemies succeeded so far as to procure the repeal of that portion of it that forbids the use of the jails for recaptured slaves. But the Governor has not as yet signed the bill, and it is reported that he does not intend to do so.

The Ohio Legislature, in March, 1851, passed resolutions in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, and in favor of its immediate repeal, as follows:—

IN SENATE, March 22, 1851.

Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That while this General Assembly would urge the faithful observance of law upon all the people of this State, and of her sister States of the Union, as the most effectual mode of promoting their best interests, as well as a high duty they owe alike to themselves and their common country, it would most earnestly recommend to Congress the necessity of so amending and modifying the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law, that

while it secures a faithful compliance with all the obligations imposed by the Constitution of the United States, it will, as it becomes a free government, guard with a jealous care the rights of the freeman. And if said law, in the opinion of Congress, cannot be so amended as to give to persons claimed as fugitives from labor the benefit of every legal defense of their liberty, we then recommend the repeal of said law.

Ayes 19, nays 10. Three of the nays were by Free-Soilers, who thought the resolution too tame and weak.

Resolved, That the law, commonly called the Fugitive Slave Law, being a law that makes *ex-parte* evidence conclusive of the master's right to recapture and return his slave; that denies him a jury trial *here or elsewhere*; that provides for the appointment of swarms of petty officers to execute it; that gives a double compensation to find every claim set up in favor of the master, and pays the expenses, in any case, from the public treasury; ought never to receive the voluntary co-operation of our people, and ought therefore to be immediately repealed.

Ayes 21, nays 8.

These resolutions were transmitted to the House, and there concurred in by the following emphatic vote: First resolve, ayes 50, nays 10. Second resolve, ayes 41, nays 21.

Numerous meetings have been held to protest against the Fugitive Slave Bill, and so far as we have been able to ascertain, the general sentiment of the people throughout the Free States is decidedly opposed to it.* We have not room for the patriotic resolutions adopted at these meetings.

Restraint has been put upon a free expression of public sentiment by politicians interested in maintaining their influence with political men at the South, and by divines unwilling to weaken the cords that unite Southern and Northern churches in the same ecclesiastical bodies. Would Northern men cut themselves loose from such affinities, and act out their own convictions, how soon would not alone the Fugitive Slave Bill, but the system of slavery itself, whose perpetuation demands such enactments, cease to disturb the peace and blight the prospects of the nation. How long shall men from whom we have a right to expect better things, in their literary, theological and political relations, submit their own necks to the yoke of the Slave Power?

During the past year the press of the United States, both secular and religious, has teemed with articles on the slavery question to a greater extent than ever before. The Fugitive Slave Bill has been amply discussed, and the public have eagerly perused what has been published on

* As indications of an increasingly kind feeling towards people of color, we record with pleasure that the Senior Class of the Meadville (Pa.) Theological School the last year invited Rev. S. R. Ward, a distinguished colored preacher, to deliver their anniversary discourse. The conductors on railroads, in many instances, befriend colored people, not even neglecting fugitives. We give an instance. On the Worcester and Nashua Railroad, (Mass.) the train passed the four-mile station without stopping until about fifty rods beyond. "Is there no one at the station?" inquired the conductor. "Nobody, sir, but a nigger," was the reply. "Back up your train," said the conductor, "and let him get on then."

the subject. Efforts have been made by official and paid attorneys to demonstrate its constitutionality. Their principle is that this law is as constitutional as that of 1793, to which it is supplementary; and that it is even less stringent in its provisions. And yet one reason alleged for the necessity of the new law, was the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that one of the chief sections of the law of 1793 was unconstitutional, viz.: that requiring State officers to execute a law of Congress. In addition to this, many eminent jurists have, from time to time, decided that said law is not constitutional, because "the Constitution," in the language of Judge Story, "executes itself;" and in the language of Chancellor Walworth, because it did not give a right of trial by jury; and inasmuch as the Constitution, in the language of Judge Tappan, uttered many years since, "does not give ANY power to Congress to legislate on the subject of fugitive slaves." And it is remarkable that no longer ago than March 7, 1850, the Hon. Daniel Webster himself declared, in a speech in the Senate, "I have always thought that the Constitution addressed itself to the Legislatures of the States themselves, or to the States themselves. . . . It seems to me the import of the passage (Art. iv. Sec. 3) is, that the State itself, in obedience to the Constitution, shall cause him (the person held to service or labor) to be delivered up. That is my judgment. I have always entertained it, and I entertain it now." How absurd then to argue that the law of 1850 is constitutional, because it is in accordance with the law of 1793; and how preposterous to assert that every man is bound to obey a law until it shall have been decided to be in all respects unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

It is somewhat remarkable that Judges of the United States Court have, in their charges to grand juries, in various districts, entered into elaborate arguments to show the constitutionality of the law of 1850; have spoken of the necessity of it to preserve the Union, and accompanied their arguments and remarks by such allusions to popular feeling that in more than one instance the spectators have applauded on the spot. It has appeared—in fact accusations to this effect have been made—that the Judges had agreed to anticipate the judgment they might be required to make, by opinions given without argument of counsel. A most extraordinary procedure, truly! Nor is this all; they have endeavored to sustain the act of Congress by showing that as a political measure it tends to hush discontent and preserve the Union of the States.

With regard to the unconstitutionality of the law, we present in the first place,* side by side, those sections of the Bill and Constitution which must strike every honest and intelligent man as capable of no reconciliation whatever:—

* Taken from the *Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H.

U. S. CONSTITUTION.

NO PERSON SHALL BE DEPRIVED OF LIFE, LIBERTY, OR PROPERTY, WITHOUT DUE PROCESS OF LAW.

In suits at Common Law, where the value in controversy shall *exceed twenty dollars*, the RIGHT OF TRIAL BY JURY SHALL BE PRESERVED; and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the Common Law.

The right of the people to be SECURE IN THEIR PERSONS, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, &c.

The privilege of the writ of Habeas Corpus SHALL NOT BE SUSPENDED unless when, in case of REBELLION or INVASION, the public safety may require it.

THE FUGITIVE BILL.

Such Court, Judge or Commissioner whose duty it shall be to hear and determine the case of such claimant IN A SUMMARY MANNER.

In no trial or hearing under this act shall the testimony of such alleged fugitive be admitted in evidence; and the certificate in this and the first section mentioned shall be *conclusive of the right* of the person or persons in whose favor granted, to remove such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he escaped, and shall prevent all molestation of said person or persons BY ANY PROCESS ISSUED BY ANY COURT, JUDGE, OR MAGISTRATE, OR OTHER PERSON WHOMSOEVER.

Here are the provisions of the two laws. And to our mind, a more direct antagonism could hardly be framed. The Constitution says, no person shall be deprived of his liberty without *due process of law*. The Slave Act says, *all cases involving personal liberty shall be decided in a summary manner*; that is, as the terms are well understood, "*without due process of law*."

The Constitution says, in suits where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of TRIAL BY JURY SHALL BE PRESERVED. The Slave Act says, in all controversies respecting the right of a MAN to himself, the right of a trial by jury SHALL BE DENIED.

The Constitution says, "the writ of Habeas Corpus SHALL NOT BE SUSPENDED unless in cases of REBELLION or INVASION." The Slave Act says it shall ALWAYS BE SUSPENDED in relation to every man *claimed* as a fugitive from slavery.

Nor are these all the points wherein this slave law conflicts with the "higher law" of the Constitution. That instrument declares that "all powers not *expressly* delegated to the General Government are reserved to the several States." Yet no man can find in the Constitution the slightest express authority for *any* legislation by Congress on the subject of returning fugitives from slavery.

Viewed, therefore, in whatever light it may be, the Act is as palpably violative of the Constitution as it is of every principle of civil and republican liberty. It is a sheer usurpation of powers never conferred on Congress or the General Government, and which can only be submitted to by a people who are willing to be slaves. As such, every citizen who desires to preserve the Constitution in its purity, and in the spirit of its founders, is bound by every rightful means in his power to resist the unwarranted enactment, and refuse all obedience to its inhuman mandates.

In addition to the above, and with reference to section 4th of the new Act, we would inquire whence the District Courts under the Constitution derive their authority of delegating to Commissioners the power of trying a cause, and what constitutional provision there is justifying Congress in authorizing them to do so?

The provision in section 10th, which enables a person to go before a court of record, and claim a man as his slave who resides in another State, establishing such claim on *ex-parte* evidence, is a most daring violation of the first principles of justice.*

Notwithstanding all that has been said in favor of the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Bill, lawyers and jurists not a few, competent to decide upon such a question, have pronounced it unconstitutional in its spirit and letter; and all the special pleading of its advocates has not been

able to convince the great body of the people in the free States to the contrary. The people of this country have been too well instructed in the principles of the Common Law and civil liberty not to understand so simple a question as this. They know well the difference between a technical and a practical use of the writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and the other great securities provided in our system of government for the protection of its citizens of whatever condition in society; and the law in question, like all other enactments in this country by the national Legislature, must be adjudicated by the great Court of Errors—THE PEOPLE.*

In addition to the unconstitutionality of the Bill, many of its provisions are manifestly cruel, inhuman and infamous. In the first place, a bribe is held out to Commissioners in allowing double fees in case of conviction. The 5th section has the following requisition: "ALL GOOD CITIZENS ARE HEREBY COMMANDED to aid and assist in the prompt and efficient execution of this law, whenever their services may be required." Any person who shall assist a fugitive directly or indirectly to escape, or harbor or conceal so as to prevent discovery, after notice or knowledge that he is a fugitive, shall be liable to a fine of \$1,000 and six months' imprisonment, and to a suit of damages for \$1,000 for each fugitive lost to his owner by said obstruction or rescue.

The summary manner in which the Bill is to be executed, its barbarity, exemplified in the case of Hanlet and others, in seizing men when engaged in their daily employments and hurrying them off, on *ex-parte* testimony, unknown to their families or friends, giving no opportunity to summon witnesses or employ counsel, would stamp the Bill as infamous† in any community under heaven; and when such acts are sought to be perpetrated in this age of the world, in a country so boastful of its liberty, and of its sympathy with the oppressed of other nations, their shamelessness and turpitude are beyond the power of language to express. It is no marvel that indignation meetings have been provoked, that threats of armed resistance have been uttered, that the humane and enlightened of other nations have been astounded, and that the cause of civil liberty has

* It is said that the Supreme Court of Massachusetts have decided the Bill to be constitutional. Their argument was based upon technicalities and upon precedents, as has been well observed. It is also said that Daniel Webster has pronounced the Bill constitutional. The Bill of 1793 made it the duty of State officers to deliver up fugitives. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the Prigg case, decided that they were *not* bound to deliver them up. Mr. Webster, in his speech of March 7, said that the Constitution committed this business to the *States, not to Congress*; but he has since acquiesced in the decision of the Supreme Court, that Congress can legislate respecting slaves, as a *lawyer* is bound to do, although in his place as *Senator* he uttered a different opinion. The Supreme Court of the United States have virtually pronounced one portion of the act of 1793 unconstitutional, upon which the act of 1850 is based, and have not yet passed upon the act of 1850. Meantime eminent jurists and statesmen differ in opinion as to the constitutionality of the act of 1850. Let the people decide.

† It was said by Hon. Thaddeus Stevens on the floor of Congress, "The law of 1793 for the recovery of fugitive slaves is *INFAMOUS*." How much stronger should be the condemnation of the more stringent act of 1850.

received through this country a fearful wound. The authors of the Bill inveigh against the despots of Europe, and the agents of their cruelty and oppression, for trampling under foot the rights of man. But what apology can be framed for them, the descendants of Hampden and Sidney, Bradford, Winthrop, Hawley, Otis, Henry, &c., for thus outraging free institutions?

We are told from the forum and the pulpit that the laws of the land must be obeyed at all hazards; that the people, whose representatives have framed them on their behalf, are passively to submit to them until they shall have been repealed by the Legislature, or pronounced unconstitutional by the highest Courts; that "resistance to them is rebellion against God;" while the "higher law" is sneered at by statesmen, churchmen, and jurists. Judge Sprague, of the United States Court for the Massachusetts District, in his charge to the Grand Jury, has recently uttered the following astonishing language:—

Unjust and oppressive laws may indeed be passed by human governments; but if infinite and inscrutable wisdom permits political society having the power of human legislation to establish such laws, (as are in the view of any persons inconsistent with the justice and benevolence and against the will of the Supreme Lawgiver,) may not the same infinite and inscrutable wisdom permit and require the individual who has no such power to obey them?

It has been well said that a principle is here laid down by a Judge upon the bench which strikes at the very existence and authority of morality and justice. But such abominable ethics are not, we should be thankful, avowed by all our judges and statesmen. Mr. Justice McLean, of the Supreme Court of the United States, in a recent letter, says:—

An unconstitutional act of Congress imposes no obligation on a State or the people of a State, and may be resisted by an individual or a community. No one, I believe, will controvert this.

Hon. John M. Niles, ex-Senator from Connecticut, in a recent letter says:—

This [Fugitive] law is not only a palpable and dangerous violation of the Constitution, but is equally subversive of all the great principles of liberty, which a free people should cherish. The duty of the people in respect to an unconstitutional and oppressive law must always be in some measure a question of expediency, depending on the circumstances of the case. *When danger is imminent, and redress cannot be hoped for in any other way, resistance by force is not only justifiable, but a duty.*

The judgment of enlightened and impartial men of all professions in foreign countries, respecting the Fugitive Slave Bill, has been expressed without reserve. Their sentiments coincide with the opinion expressed by the Right Honorable S. Lushington, LL.D., Judge of the Admiralty Court of England, and one of the most distinguished civilians of that country, who, on reading the Bill, wrote as follows:—

No one can feel more sincerely than myself abhorrence at the Fugitive Slave Bill; a measure as cruel and as unchristian as ever disgraced any country.

There is no little confusion, in the minds of those who have declaimed

against disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Law, between *disobedience* and forcible *opposition* to a law of the land. Disobedience is one thing and resistance quite another, *i. e.*, forcible or armed resistance. The anti-slavery men of the United States, as a body, are men of peace, and they have neither counselled nor practised any violent resistance to unjust and unconstitutional enactments. They claim the right of disobeying them and taking the penalty. In Boston, recently, the peaceable and legal resistance to the Bill was most unjustly characterized by some as unconstitutional and treasonable violence, notwithstanding the disclaimers put forth by the patriots who were simply endeavoring to oppose legally what they justly deemed an unconstitutional and infamous enactment of Congress, as will appear from the following brief paragraph from the *Commonwealth* :—

We take this occasion to repeat, what we have frequently said, that we countenance no resistance to law. We need not reiterate our abhorrence of the Fugitive Slave Law. But we rely solely upon legal, constitutional modes of opposition. No other modes have been attempted in Boston, and we do not believe that any other modes are thought of. The liberties of free citizens must be protected by employing all the safeguards which our laws afford.

It is no new thing, either in this country or in England, for men to disobey laws they cannot conscientiously obey. The time is approaching, we trust, when neither law-makers nor preachers will contend that they have no right so to do. Meantime it should be well understood that unconstitutional laws, or those deemed such, or laws contrary to the Divine or Higher Law, may be disobeyed by individuals on their own responsibility, and in some cases even resisted. We have examples of this in history, and even in the annals of our own country. President Jefferson treated the Alien and Sedition Laws as unconstitutional. President Jackson denounced the United States Bank, although the Supreme Court of the United States had decided that the act creating it was constitutional. He said, "I take the responsibility."* John Hampden resisted the authority of government, and gained in history the fame of an illustrious patriot. Who will now rise up and condemn those men for thus anticipating the maturer opinions of their own age and the judgment of posterity?

Having clearly shown that the law in question is unconstitutional, and that whether it is so or not, a citizen may, on his own responsibility, refuse obedience to its mandates, it is manifest that it is also, as before charged, both cruel and inhuman.

Kidnapping to an alarming extent can be carried on under this Bill, as can be clearly seen by an examination of its provisions, and a knowl-

* General Jackson was much censured, but he afterwards told a Senator of the United States, that he knew at the time that the Bank was insolvent, but the information was derived from a Director, in confidence; and that he was in duty bound to remove the large funds of Government then on deposit in the Bank, and denounce the institution.

edge of facts daily transpiring. Wherever an ignorant or corrupt Commissioner can be found, forged papers, or papers illegally or fraudulently obtained in slave States, in connection with false witnesses, will be sufficient for the arrest and removal of any person of color, or person bearing any resemblance to the colored race. In fact no white person is, under the law, safe; and it may be that nothing but his position in society, and his fraternization with the South, saves even the Great Expounder of the American Constitution from the Southern prison-house. Even his superior knowledge of common and statute law would be of no avail, before such Commissioners, as are now intrusted with power to adjudicate cases involving the liberty of man. The trial is "summary"—the decision "conclusive." The sword of Damocles is suspended over the head of every officer, and the purses of Union Safety Committees furnish the ready means to fee eminent attorneys, bestow services of plate, and reward in various other ways the satraps of the city, State and national Governments.

Not only is kidnapping under the forms of laws carried on, but more secret villainies of this description are practised under cover of this Bill. When so many persons are sent into the free States, or are employed within them to hunt up, inform against, or seize fugitive slaves for reward, a strong temptation is furnished to kidnappers to molest and enslave persons who have been slaves but who are now legally free, and people of color who have always been free. There is proof that this has been done in many instances. The law, instead of being the friend of the defenseless, has become their enemy, and practices pronounced piratical and worthy of death when committed on the African shore are shielded when perpetrated in the free States of this country.*

Children have been carried off from their play-groûds, while on errands, or in the darkness of night; women have been persuaded to go South as servants; sailors have been shipped at Northern ports, taken to the South and sold, when they had been shipped, as they supposed, for foreign voyages. All this has been done in free States. The relations and friends of the unhappy victims have been unable to reclaim them. These things have been done to a greater extent than is usually supposed. In too many instances the nefarious acts thus alluded to have been perpetrated, not by Southern men, but by Northern miscreants. It is not the least of the objections to the Fugitive Slave Bill, that it affords facilities to the marauding and successful enterprises of slave-hunters. It has rekindled the bad passions of slaveholders in all their connections,

* A lawyer, who has filled a high position in the Government of the United States, and who is again in a waiting posture for office, lately said he was constrained to believe the act of 1850 to be constitutional, and added, "but it is the most cruel and inhuman law on the statute-book." He was asked if the Constitution of the United States allowed cruel and inhuman laws, and if so, what should be thought of that instrument!

and stimulated the cupidity of numerous wretches who can be hired to be their instruments. The following facts are adduced in proof of these assertions :—

A negro, says the *True Democrat*, claiming to be free, was openly seized at Cincinnati, by a party from Kentucky, and hurried on board a ferry-boat, at mid-day.

The *Standard* and *New-York Evangelist* mention, an attempt was made to kidnap a free colored young woman, who was a native of Massachusetts, in New-York, and put her on board a schooner below the Atlantic Dock, Brooklyn, and she would have been carried South had not some bystanders rescued her.

A colored boy, born at Harrisburg, Pa., we learn from the *Tribune* of March 7th, was kidnapped in Pennsylvania in February, by some slave-hunters, and has not been heard of since.

The *Philadelphia Ledger* reports the case of a black man named Thomas Hall, an honest, sober and industrious man, who was stolen at West Cala township, Pa., by three men, who burglariously entered his house, felled him with a bludgeon, and dealt severe blows at his wife. e has not been heard from.

In the Criminal Court, in Philadelphia, in March, George F. Alberti and J. Frisby Price were put on trial for kidnapping Catharine Thompson and child, colored persons. The testimony against the accused was strong. The jury returned a verdict of guilty, and both prisoners were sent to Moyamensing prison.

Kidnapping is not confined to the free States. The Baltimore correspondent of the *Tribune* states, February 3d, that "quite a system of kidnapping has been carried on between Kent and Queen Ann's counties, Md., and Baltimore city, for some months past;" and adds the following :—

The gang were finally ferreted out, and two ringleaders, named Moffitt and Price, and several auxiliaries, have been arrested, held to bail, or committed to answer for their outrages. Their plan of operations has been to catch an unwary negro boy or girl in the country, take him or her to a private house, and keep them till an opportunity was afforded to bring them to Baltimore. Here no difficulty was experienced in selling them to the numerous slave-dealers with whom our city is cursed, and, no representations of the poor negro being heeded, their fate is sealed.

A few days since a Mr. Spear, of Kent county, had a servant girl spirited away, and as he did not believe she had absconded, he suspected this kidnapping gang. Accordingly he came to the city, and, by the aid of an officer, in the course of a day, found his girl at the slave depot of the Messrs. Campbell, West Pratt street. Messrs. Campbell showed a legal bill of sale made out in the names of Moffitt and Price, in which it was evidenced that they had paid \$425 for the girl. Of course her master demanded and obtained her.

The charge made by foreigners and some of our own citizens, that we are a slaveholding nation, has been stoutly denied, notwithstanding the notorious fact that in various ways slavery and the domestic slave-trade have been patronized and extended by the National Government. The Fugitive Slave Bill has made us a slaveholding nation, so far as it could

be done by those who enacted it or have sustained it. The authorities of the United States—legislative, judicial and executive—have not only combined to sustain slavery and to recover fugitives, but to make, under heavy penalties, every citizen of the country a participant. What more is necessary to constitute this a slaveholding nation? The fact is, we have for many years been verging in that direction, in defiance alike of the foundation principles of the government, and of the precepts and examples of its illustrious founders. We need only allude to the Constitution, in which the words *slave* and *slavery* are studiously avoided; to the Ordinance of 1787, which placed limits to the extension of slavery; and to the action of Jay, Franklin, and their associates, in forming societies for the abolition of slavery; in contrast with the numerous acts of the General Government at subsequent periods, several of which we shall hereafter enumerate, for the encouragement and perpetuation of slavery and the domestic slave-trade.

The slaveholders of this country have, within a few years past, made desperate efforts to strengthen and extend the "peculiar institution" on this continent, and have repeatedly, with the concurrence of Northern men, been too successful. This has emboldened many of them openly to avow their determination to sustain slavery at all hazards, and to persist in wielding the powers of the General Government in aid of their design. This class pretend that the theory of Jefferson and Madison, with reference to the equality of man, is an exploded doctrine,* and that the institution of slavery is to be perpetual in this country.†

The attempt to bring the Northern States into an acquiescence in the infamous Fugitive Slave Bill, and thus to familiarize them with the atrocities of slavery, will meet, we trust, a great discomfiture. Thus the odious Bill, and the system from which it sprung, will sink to a lower depth of hate. No measure has ever been devised, so well adapted as this to open the eyes of Northern citizens to their rights and the true character of slavery. The Bill has induced the free citizens of the North to revert to the original principles upon which the government was founded, and to refresh their memories as to their rights and privileges under the Common Law and the reciprocal obligations of the States. Agitators not only, but calm and reflecting men, are discussing these things in the light of the Revolution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. It cannot be that this discussion will result in any thing less than a determination to bring the administration of the country back to original

* Mr. Barnwell's speech in the Senate of the United States, *Evening Post*, July 13, 1850.

† Mr. Woodfin, in the Senate of North-Carolina, said, in January, 1851: "Sir, I have no uneasiness about the fate of slavery in the South. Whatever change it may occasion in governments, or however much we may differ about forms of government, about State policy and national associations, that institution is as unalterably identified with the South as the climate and the leading Southern staples."

principles, and to wrest the government from the usurped control of those who would fasten upon the nation the stigma of being the last in Christendom to sustain chattel slavery.

We see nothing in the fact that associations are formed in cities and other places trading extensively with the South, or that pro-slavery pulpits render their aid to sustain the tottering institution, to dishearten the friends of liberty in the prospect. The law of nature and the promises of God afford ample encouragement that slavery is short-lived. From the rank soil of cities may be expected to break out physical revolution, with its riots, its émeutes and its bloodshed. But not to such movements do we look. The moral revolutions through which the cause of Freedom shall triumph spring up among the yeomanry, and gain in the country the vigorous, sturdy growth, to which at last the cities must succumb.

It must not be forgotten that the power of sympathy is an essential element in every moral enterprise. This was manifested at the introduction of Christianity, and has been experienced in every age of the world. On the page of ecclesiastical history it is written: "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church;" and on the record of political annals is inscribed: "The voice of my brother's blood cries from the ground!" When Knibb, the missionary, addressed public assemblies in England respecting the atrocities that had been committed in Jamaica, on the property of the mission and the persons of the slaves, he so awakened the sympathy of the British people that they came out in their majesty and decreed the death of colonial slavery. Neither they nor the planters now regret the event. The operation of the Fugitive Slave Bill has awakened, for the first time, a general sympathy in the people of the free States for the victims of oppression. It may be that attempts to enforce this act will be instrumental in deepening this sympathy, until the North shall resolve, as unanimously as did the people of Great Britain, that slavery shall cease. When this state of things arrives, the great body of the planters of the United States will, it is to be hoped, be as considerate as were the planters of the British West Indies, and submit to a dire necessity, fraught as they may afterwards understand with blessings upon themselves and their posterity.

The passage and enforcement of this Bill may justly be looked upon as a persecution of those Christians who conscientiously believe its provisions are contrary to the divine law. They, as well as others, are required to aid in the execution of an enactment that they believe is contrary to the religion of Christ, and are made liable, for refusing so to do, to fines and imprisonment. And as there is no probability that the contest now prevailing between the advocates of the higher law and the supporters of the lower law will cease until the triumph of the first is firmly established, this persecution will probably continue during the whole of this moral warfare. If such persecution is tamely submitted to, other encroachments will doubt-

less be made. It should therefore be resisted by all possible constitutional, egal, and Christian measures, under a sense of obligation to God, and to the laws of the land made in conformity to His supreme law.

The English nation was aroused to action chiefly in consequence of the persecution of the missionaries in Jamaica. This opened the eyes of the nation to the atrocities of slaveholding. The persecution of the colored people of this country, and of their friends, should enkindle equal feeling here. It will do so unless the consciences of men are seared, and their moral sense perverted by the practice of iniquity, the love of money, and the false teachings of ethical and clerical demagogues. In this country, more than in any other, are the people responsible for the continuance of slavery, and for its contaminating influence in Church and State. We choose our law-makers; they are our representatives; and therefore every elector is responsible in a high degree for the prevalence of an unrighteous system, and for the cruel enactments that sustain it.

The Church, as is well known, is deeply implicated in the sin of slaveholding, but few persons are aware of its extent among the various denominations. Our agent in New-Mexico, previous to his departure for that country, published some important statistics on this subject, that show "there is no element by which the down-trodden and bleeding slave is held in durance vile so effective as the ecclesiastical power." We extract the following from the tables published by him:—

Denominations.	Ministers.	Members.	No. of Slaves.
Methodists,* - - - - -	5,080	1,178,637	219,563
Presbyterians, Old and New Schools, - - - - -	3,264	333,458	77,000
Baptists, - - - - -	6,598	812,921	125,000
Campbellites, - - - - -			101,000
Episcopalians, - - - - -	1,404	67,550	88,000
Other denominations, - - - - -			50,000
Total number of slaves held by ministers of the gospel and members of the different Protestant Churches, - - - - -			660,563

The denominations above cited have under their control 89 colleges with 5,495 students, and 26 theological seminaries with about 700 students. Some of these colleges and seminaries have been built and endowed partly by the sale of slaves, and all are looking for slaveholding patronage. When we contemplate the above facts, and consider the influence which the Church and the ministry have in this country, it is

* Of the 219,563 slaves owned in the Methodist Church, the greater portion by far are owned in the Church South. The Church North, however, is by no means guiltless of the blood of the innocent. She has her churches in the South in which slaves are held, and the owners are in good standing. Dr. Durbin writes letters from Philadelphia to the Virginia slaveholders, to convince them that the Church North is in no way connected with Abolitionism, and is in every way worthy of their confidence and support. And since the division of that Church, not a single Conference, quarterly or annual, to our knowledge, in the whole North, has declared slaveholding a bar to Christian communion, though they have been repeatedly solicited so to do.

impossible not to think of the truth contained in the memorable saying of the distinguished Albert Barnes:—

“THERE IS NO POWER OUT OF THE CHURCH THAT COULD SUSTAIN SLAVERY AN HOUR IF IT WERE NOT SUSTAINED IN IT.”

The prominent question now before the nation, it will be acknowledged, is one as much connected with the moral and religious, as with the political interests of the people. The baneful influence of slavery is felt in every department of society, and affects injuriously the spiritual as well as the temporal welfare of men. And it will either uproot and destroy both the political and religious institutions of the country, or be itself destroyed by them. A slaveholding Christianity is as great an anomaly as a slaveholding Democracy. It is therefore a matter of peculiar concern, if “righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people,” to watch with interest the action of ecclesiastical bodies and prominent clerical men, with reference to the part they take in upbuilding or destroying the fair fabric raised by our forefathers. Having recorded the action of various ecclesiastical bodies and clerical gentlemen on the Fugitive Slave Bill, and related the doings of the Methodist Churches and the Society of Friends the past year, on the general subject of slavery, we will now turn our attention to what has been done by other denominations.

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF PRESBYTERIANS (Old School) is composed of those who consider themselves orthodox *par excellence*. They reside in the slave and free States, are generally pro-slavery, and vie with the Senate of the United States in dogged hostility to anti-slavery action. They profess to believe that slavery is not in itself a sin; that the abuses of the system alone are cognizable by church judicatories; that Christianity has very little to do with the politics of a nation; and that colonization is the chief remedy for ridding the country, in due time, of the institution descended from Abraham and endorsed by the apostles.

This body held their last annual meeting at Cincinnati in May, 1850. Dr. Murray, of New-Jersey, late Moderator, preached the sermon from these words: “A glorious church.” Dr. Leland, of South-Carolina, was elected Moderator for the ensuing year. There were three candidates, all being residents of slave States, and probably slaveholders. Dr. R. J. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, who is a conspicuous politician as well as ecclesiastic, and who felt a deep sympathy with Mr. Clay in the success of the compromise measures of the late Congress, moved for a committee to prepare a memorial to Congress expressing the views of the Presbyterian body in the United States in favor of the perpetuity of the Union. The resolution was placed on the docket, although anti-slavery petitions in the Assembly are seldom read, and generally treated with contempt. Subsequently the matter was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 103 to 75.

Rev. Mr. McClure, a delegate to this body from the Congregational “General Association of Massachusetts,” made a communication expressive

of the views of the Association on slavery, accompanied by their "earnest but kind and Christian desire" that the General Assembly would take such action as would soonest and best free* the Church from all connection with it; whereupon Dr. W. L. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, offered the following:—

Resolved, That our delegate to the next General Association of Massachusetts be directed to inform that venerable body that this General Assembly must consider itself the best judge of the action which it is necessary for it to take as to all subjects within its jurisdiction; and that any interference on the part of that General Association with its action upon any subject upon which this General Assembly has taken action, is offensive, and must lead to an interruption of the correspondence which subsists between that Association and the General Assembly.

This resolution was adopted, after a brief debate, with very few dissenting votes.

Dr. Plumer, of Baltimore, formerly of Virginia, was appointed to preach before the next General Assembly, on the subject of—Romanism. This is the preacher who said, at the time the Abolitionists were mobbed, and their houses and churches threatened with conflagration, "If Abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should have the first warning of the fire."

The GENERAL ASSEMBLY (New School) met at Detroit, also in May last. The majority of the members connected with this body are Northern men, and profess to take more liberal and scriptural views of theology than the other division of the Presbyterian Church. It contains a respectable minority who entertain anti-slavery sentiments. Some are decided Abolitionists. A few members are from churches in slaveholding States; and several are men who once professed to be Abolitionists, but who have apostatized. It has been the policy of the latter portion to keep the Assembly so far anti-slavery as to draw off from the other body all affected with anti-slavery opinions, and so far pro-slavery as to prevent members from the slave States leaving them.

Nineteen anti-slavery memorials were presented.† They seemed to be more decided in their tone than previously. A resolution was introduced against the *abuses* of slavery. It was proposed, in Congressional style,

* Mr. McClure prefaced the communication by stating that it was not in accordance with his own feelings or views; that he was *under instructions*, and had no alternative, &c.; and after the introduction of the resolution, apologized, expressed regret at the action of the body he represented, and hoped the fraternal relations of the two bodies would not be interrupted. But before he could get out of the house, Dr. R. J. Breckenridge expressed the hope that the delegate who had been appointed to the General Association of next year should remain at home. Dr. Baker, of Texas, the delegate, stated to the Assembly his determination to decline acting under his commission. The course pursued by Mr. McClure seemed to invite these insults. In ecclesiastical pro-slavery bodies as in Congress, doughfaceism invites insult and aggression, whereas gentlemanly frankness and boldness inspire respect.

† Of these, two were from Synods, thirteen from Presbyteries, one from a church, two from private individuals, and one from a body not connected with the Assembly.

to lay all the memorials on the table, but there was too much anti-slavery feeling to allow such a procedure. At length it was agreed that one of the memorials should be read; that any member representing a Synod or Presbytery that had sent up a memorial, might call for the reading of it; and that the whole should be sent to a special committee. Several were read. Before the Assembly adjourned, Dr. Duffield, chairman of the committee, made a long report, accompanied by a set of resolutions. Rev. W. C. Wisner made a minority report, with resolutions. Rev. Mr. Clarke, of Ohio, and Rev. Mr. Spear offered substitute resolutions. The following, being those that accompanied the report of the minority, with material amendments, were finally passed by a vote of 86 ayes to 16 nays:—

Resolved, 1. That we exceedingly deplore the workings of the whole system of slavery as it exists in our country, and is interwoven with the political institutions of the slaveholding States, as fraught with many and great evils to the civil, political and moral interests of those regions where it exists.

2. That the holding our fellow-men in the condition of slavery, except in those cases where it is unavoidable by the laws of the State, the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity, is an offense in the proper import of that term, as used in the Book of Discipline, Ch. I. Sec. 3, which should be regarded and treated in the same manner as other offenses.

3. That the Sessions and Presbyteries are, by the Constitution of our Church, the courts of primary jurisdiction for the trial of offenses.

4. That after this declaration of sentiment, the whole subject of slavery, as it exists in the Church, be referred to the Sessions and Presbyteries, to take such action thereon as in their judgment the laws of Christianity require."

It was thought at the time that rather ultra anti-slavery resolutions had been passed. Consequently the Southern members entered a protest. The *New-York Evangelist* expressed the belief that the anti-slavery tone of the resolutions was an advance on former acts. The *Boston Congregationalist* thought the doings of the Assembly very gratifying. The *Ohio Central Christian Herald* expressed a belief that all anti-slavery men would approve the doings of the Assembly, though it confessed that "several Southern men voted against the resolutions on the ground that they considered it inexpedient to take any further action on the subject now, and not because they dissented from the positions assumed in them." The *New-York Observer* remarked that both the report of the majority and that of the minority were "conceived in a spirit at once of fidelity and charity. Both leave the sin of slaveholding in individual cases—the one virtually, and the other expressly—to be judged of, and proceeded with, by the Sessions and Presbyteries." The *Philadelphia Christian Observer*, a rank pro-slavery paper, judged differently. "The time for debating the question [slavery] in the Church has passed by," said the editor, and intimated that the resolutions, as passed, meant very little. Rev. Mr. Stiles spoke in vindication of slaveholding, and yet voted for the resolutions.*

* Mr. Stiles was at the time pastor of the Mercer street church, New-York, a Southerner by birth and associations. After the adjournment of the Assembly he published his speech in that body, with an Appendix containing extravagant pro-slavery sentiments. Many of his people were offended, and this circumstance, in

It is obvious enough that the resolutions adopted are unmeaning, and that the action of the Assembly was a retrograde step. We doubt not that the editors who approved the resolutions did it hastily. Some of the anti-slavery members of the Assembly, who rejoiced in the passage of the resolutions, found on closer examination that they had mistaken the shadow for the substance; and the Southern members who made the protest must have felt that the labor had been wholly unnecessary. The fact is, there was a good deal of anti-slavery feeling in the Assembly, so much that the resolutions reported by the majority of the committee could not pass. It was confidently expected that the strong anti-slavery resolutions reported by the minority of the committee would be adopted. A struggle then ensued between the anti-slavery, pro-slavery and conservative portions of the Assembly. Various amendments were proposed, some of which were adopted, and on the final passage of the resolutions both the anti-slavery and pro-slavery members imagined the resolutions had passed substantially as reported. This intelligence was spread abroad, and hence the encomiums of a part of the anti-slavery press. It was found, however, after the smoke of the contest had cleared away, that slavery had escaped with only a slight scratch. The remark of Mr. Stiles, afterwards made, was not far from the truth: "A series of resolutions drawn up by a committee, composed of opposite parties, is always a singularly mixed production."

It will be seen that the SIN of slaveholding is not condemned by the Assembly. The "workings" or "abuses" of the system are merely "deplored." The many and great "evils" are lamented. IT WILL BE SEEN ALSO THAT THE EXCEPTIONS ALLUDED TO IN THE SECOND RESOLUTION WILL BE MADE TO EMBRACE NEARLY EVERY INSTANCE OF SLAVEHOLDING IN THE CHURCH. Sessions and Presbyteries composed of slaveholders (and such will in most cases be the judicatories for the trial of these offenses) will hold that no slaves are held by church-members except where it is "unavoidable by the laws of the State, the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity." What remains then will be considered "an offense," subject to discipline! In view of the whole proceedings, must not the act of the Assembly be considered unworthy of a body of honest men?

The spirit of this General Assembly, as to the slavery question, it has been well observed, "may be judged of by what they refused to do, as by what they did." Be it known, then, that they refused to pass the following, presented by Rev. W. C. Clark, of Ohio:—

Whereas, according to the decision of the General Assembly of 1849, (see Minutes, p. 187,) "the system of slavery, as it exists in these United States, is intrinsically an unrighteous and oppressive system, and is opposed to the prescrip-

connection with other causes of dissatisfaction, led to his resignation. To the astonishment of not a few, Mr. Stiles was immediately appointed a Secretary of the American Bible Society, to labor especially at the South!

tions of the law of God, to the spirit and precepts of the gospel, and to the best interests of humanity;" therefore,

Resolved, That voluntary slaveholding be regarded as presumptive evidence of guilt, and should be treated by the lower judicatories as an offense as defined by the Book of Discipline, Chapter I., Section 3.

They also rejected the following, presented by W. B. F. Smith, an Elder from the Third Presbytery of Philadelphia:—

Resolved, That this Assembly exceedingly deplores the existence of the system of slaveholding in this country, it being in the judgment of the Assembly, *prima facie*, an offense within the meaning of our Book of Discipline.

Resolved, That although the Assembly will not affirm that there are no circumstances in which an individual proved to be a slaveholder may be placed that will take away from him the guilt of this offense, yet in the judgment of the Assembly, the burden of showing the existence of such circumstances rests upon him.

Resolved, therefore, That the Assembly, in the exercise of its constitutional prerogative, and in the performance of an enjoined duty, does hereby bear its solemn testimony against this immorality, and urges upon the lower judicatories to deal with it according to the principles herein indicated, in conformity with the rules of discipline of the Church.

Surely anti-slavery men in this Assembly will not be satisfied with such a weak and inefficient set of resolutions; and editors who have commended them will, on maturer reflection, form a more correct opinion of their impotence and mockery, as it respects the ultimate result. Better for the Assembly to come out boldly, as their brethren of the Old School have, in defense of the system, and denial of the necessity of discipline, in defiance of what Presbyterians of both schools declared, when they composed a united body.*

It will be useful to refresh the memory of the Christian public with the doings of the General Assembly in past times. In 1794, when religious men vied with statesmen in stigmatizing slavery as it deserves, and in efforts to bring about its abolition, the General Assembly adopted the following as a note to the eighth commandment:—

1 Tim. i. 10.—The law is made for man-stealers. This crime among the Jews exposed the perpetrators of it to capital punishment, (Exodus xxi. 15,) and the apostle here classes them with sinners of the first rank. The word he uses, in its original import, comprehends all who are concerned in bringing any of the human race into slavery, or in retaining them in it. Stealers of men are all those who bring off slaves or freemen, and *keep, sell, or buy* them. To steal a freeman,

* The General Assembly, at their meeting at Utica, N. Y., May, 1851, after a debate on the slavery question, adopted by "an overwhelming majority," the following resolution. Very little other business was attended to. Both the Old School and New School papers congratulate their readers that the subject that has so long agitated the Church is happily settled. One of them states that President Fillmore and Attorney General Crittenden "markedly congratulated some of the Commissioners, at Utica, on the results of the discussion; and felt that its effects would be widely and variedly beneficial."

"That the Assembly have reason to be thankful to Divine Providence for the wisdom and prudence vouchsafed to the last Assembly, in coming to conclusions on this vexed question, which have so generally met with the acquiescence of the Church at this crisis; and that it seems obviously our privilege and duty at the present session to leave the whole subject as it was placed by that action, without further agitation, and to unite in devout thanksgiving, for such an adjustment of this subject, as leaves us undividedly and undistractedly to give our energies to the great work of our Master."

says Grotius, is the highest kind of theft. In other instances we only steal human property, but when we steal or retain men in slavery, we seize those who, in common with ourselves, are constituted, by the original grant, lords of the earth.

In 1815, the General Assembly "assure all churches under their care, that they view with the deepest concern any vestiges (!) of slavery which may exist in our country."

In 1816, after the invention of Whitney's cotton gin, and the consequent increase of trade, which seemed to bewitch the people both in and out of the Church, the General Assembly, while it called slavery "a mournful evil," directed that the above note should be erased.

In 1818, however, the following resolution was adopted :—

"We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the laws of God, which are, to love our neighbor as ourselves; and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ, which enjoins that all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." . . . And, "it is manifestly the duty of all Christians who enjoy the light of the present day . . . as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible, throughout the world."

The above resolutions were adopted before the division of the Presbyterian Church.

In 1846, the General Assembly (New School) resolved that "the system of slavery is intrinsically an unrighteous and oppressive system, and is opposed to the prescriptions of the law of God, to the spirit and precepts of the gospel, and to the best interests of humanity. . . . Yet we would not undertake to determine the degree of moral turpitude on the part of individuals involved in it."

They also resolved that they would not "pronounce a judgment of general and promiscuous condemnation, nor withhold ecclesiastical and Christian fellowship from them," (all who stood in the relation of masters and slaves;) and that they believed, "that separation and secession among the churches and their members, are not the methods that God approves and sanctions for the reformation of his Church."*

In 1849, this body resolved :—

That in the judgment of this Assembly, these declarations of former General Assemblies bear an explicit, frank, honest, and honorable testimony against the evils of slavery, and they ought to be known and read of all men.

The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS, the largest and most influential missionary association in this country,

* This seems a very loose and unscriptural mode of expression, and a determination at variance with the Scripture, as it regards discipline. Because they could not see their way clear to pronounce a condemnation on *all* slaveholders, and withhold fellowship from *all*, they decline doing it with respect to *any*. And God, it is intimated, does not approve of "separation and secession among the churches." This is said without reservation! But what says the Scripture? "Wherefore, come out from among them, [the "world and workers of iniquity."—*Clarke* ; "ought that pertained to idolatry or iniquity."—*Scott*.] and be ye *separate*, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing." Why the General Assembly should resolve that they would not withhold Christian fellowship from all who stood in the relation of "slaves," does not appear.

took no action at its last annual meeting in aid of emancipation. A printed circular, signed by several ministers and laymen of the State of New-York, containing strictures upon the Board for its supposed pro-slavery character, was, it seems, distributed among the members. Dr. Anderson made a public reply to it, and stated that the signers to the circular were "known as *friends and patrons of the American Missionary Union*;" meaning, as is supposed, the American Missionary Association, which is avowedly and consistently an anti-slavery body of Christians. It is true that some of the signers are known to be contributors to the treasury of the Association, but the circular was prepared, we learn, without the knowledge or concurrence of its Committee; and it is somewhat gratuitous in the Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M. to cast an oblique censure upon another missionary Society, which appears to be provoking the old Board to good works.

We concur with the signers to the circular in several of the exceptions taken, but all we have to do with the subject relates to that part of the circular which refers to the doings of the Board on the subject of slavery. They say, in reference to the annual meeting of the Board at Brooklyn:—

By the action of that meeting, we understand it to be the adopted sentiment of the A. B. C. F. M., that polygamy, war, caste, slavery, and civil oppression, are sins of the State, rather than of *individuals*; and hence, that for such things men are not to be reproved, as they are for lying, Sabbath-breaking, fraud, &c. In regard to professed converts from heathenism, the Board teach, (see their Report, p. 7,) that being gathered into churches, then "the master may be *prepared* to break the bonds of the slave, and the *oppressive ruler* led to dispense justice to the subject, and the *proud Brahmin* fraternally to embrace the man of low caste, &c."

The circular intimates nothing in the above extracts, that is not true, as the report of the Board alluded to will show. Slave masters are in the churches gathered by its missionaries, among the Cherokees and Choctaws; "oppressive rulers" are or were in those at the Sandwich Islands; and "proud Brahmins" in those of India, all welcomed and cherished as "children of the great household of God!"

Complaint is made that the Board send or appoint agents in communities of slaveholders, to solicit co-operation and funds, thus acknowledging them to be Christian brethren, countenancing them in the wicked system of slavery, and accepting the gains of oppression for the treasury of the Lord. These Christian ministers and laymen also complain that slaves are hired at the mission stations of their masters, and that thus a sanction is given to the conduct of those who rob men of their wages. And, in a respectful manner and kind spirit, they implore the Board to discountenance the practices of which they complain. Surely such remonstrants deserve the thanks of the Board and its friends, and not their sneers or rebuke, for their fidelity, especially when the Board is—*slowly* it must be acknowledged—abandoning the ground heretofore

taken with regard to the evil practices of which such just complaint is made.

The AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY sustains, at the present time, sixty-three missionaries in the slave States,* most if not all of whom, it is believed, receive slaveholders to church fellowship, and collect funds indiscriminately, as they are able, for the common treasury of the Society. The facts that its missionaries are steadily increasing in slave States, that they abstain from all interference with slavery in the churches to which they minister, and that the Society takes no steps, so far as the public knows, to induce these churches to refrain from affording countenance to the slaveholding system, and to institute discipline and refuse fellowship with reference to slaveholders, have aroused the attention of anti-slavery Christians in various parts of the country. And in view of what they deem a tacit connivance at the slave system on the part of the Society, some feel constrained to withdraw personal services, and others pecuniary aid, from a missionary association they otherwise most cordially approve. In evidence of this we extract the following:—

The *Northwestern Gazetteer*, for Feb. 27, contains the following Memorial to the Executive Committee of the American Home Missionary Society. We understand that the movement commenced with a few of the Society's missionaries in Iowa, but it now promises to be somewhat extensive. The publication of the Memorial is accompanied by an *Appeal to the Friends and Patrons, the Missionaries and Churches contributing to or aided by the American Home Missionary Society.*

"MEMORIAL.

"To the Executive Committee of the Home Missionary Society:

The undersigned Ministers, Elders, and Deacons of churches aided by or contributing to your Society, respectfully pray that you will adopt in Committee, a rule of appropriations under which churches in slave States, applying for aid in supporting the gospel, shall be asked whether the members are allowed to hold slaves, and if so, that no aid be granted such churches hereafter applying, until the objection shall be removed."

We rejoice in this movement, because it comes from a right source, and is eminently kind towards the body which it memorializes. It seeks to detach the Missionary Society from the support of slavery, because it believes the enslaving of men to be sin, and because it is believed that the unrebuked fellowshiping of the slaveholder as a good Christian brother, counteracts all the efforts made by the friends of the Society for the overthrow of this sin.

The conductors of this Society are desirous, we doubt not, of being as anti-slavery in their operations as they think prudence will admit. In the "*Home Missionary*" for November, 1850, is an excellent article in reply to one of the Society's correspondents, who desired them to send missionaries who would "let politics alone," and "let slavery alone." The Secretaries say:—

* The statement made in the Annual Report of the A. H. M. S., with reference to the number of their missionaries in Southern States, will mislead some, unless they reflect that the distribution is made in the Report according to the *geographical* divisions of the country, instead of the popular use of terms. In the Report 17 are stated to be located in "Southern States," and 488 in "Western States and Territories." Included in the last division are 46 in the slave States Tennessee, Kentucky, and Missouri.

There is no use in blinking the fact that this admitted evil is a great hindrance to the spread of religion, to education, to moral and social prosperity; and no one will deny that the gospel is its most direct and appropriate remedy. But if the preacher of the gospel be prohibited from touching the evil with the remedy, where is the inducement to send him? Such appeals for missionaries react against those who make them. They discourage missionary effort by taking away one of its great motives. They turn away missionaries to other fields. They indirectly injure those ministers who are laboring in slave States, implying that they are all silent on this subject; whereas, there are not a few whose mouths are not and cannot be shut, but who are, quietly and prudently indeed, but yet faithfully and successfully, trying the potency of the gospel upon this great evil. If our friends in the slave States wish us to send missionaries, or wish to induce missionaries to come to them, they must not prescribe any conditions which shall fetter the free action of intelligent and God-fearing men, acting on their sincere convictions of the nature and requirements of the religion of Christ.

Admirable. But how can a Society, whose organ utters such a "certain sound," sustain correspondents, or support missionaries preaching steadily to churches composed in part or wholly of slaveholders, without rebuking or disciplining them for their sin? Such appeals as are given above, we are told, "turn away missionaries to other fields." Doubtless. The more conscientious the missionary, the more likely to be thus affected. And will not the attempt of the officers, thus to combine the utterance of such noble truths with the support of ministers preaching unrebukingly to slaveholding churches, divert the sympathy and aid of the Christian community from the Society itself? Already has similar inconsistency deprived it of excellent missionaries, produced remonstrances, alienated confidence, and, as we believe, grieved the Holy Spirit.

The ground assumed by the apologists of the Society for the silence of its missionaries in slave States on the subject of slavery, we understand to be this: If the missionaries are required to preach against the sin of slaveholding, and to refuse to tolerate it in the churches to which they minister, they will be driven away, and thus churches and community be deprived of gospel privileges. A similar defense is set up by the American Tract Society, and the American Sunday-School Union, for declining to publish any work on the sinfulness of American slavery.

Undoubtedly there would be difficulty. But the vital question to be met lies here: Is it right to preach an emasculated gospel? The great Founder of Christianity and his chosen apostles—was this *their* practice? Among idolaters, were their lips silent on the sin of idolatry? Among the lascivious, did they omit to denounce licentiousness? Nay, verily. In all its fulness and integrity, at every hazard, they preached the GOSPEL, the WHOLE GOSPEL. The "sapping and mining" process was no device of theirs. It was not their policy, for the sake of quiet, or of maintaining their place and influence in any community, to be silent on the specific sins there cherished. Difficulty in proclaiming a true gospel is not confined to the region where American slavery maintains its monuments. "I came," said Jesus Christ, "not to send peace, but a sword." It is the predicted effect of Christianity to excite anxious inquiry, stir up opposi-

tion, snap the closest ties of life, and reveal to a man his deadliest foes in his own household.

From neither the Bible, History, nor Reason, can we draw encouragement in preaching a gospel that shall be silent on the specific and crying sins of men, in the hope of retaining position and influence among them. Not by sapping and mining, by manœuvring and concealment of the whole counsel of God, has the Church achieved its triumphs. Its great Head reached the crown through the cross; and always the seed of the Church has been the blood of the martyrs. It is the winds of opposition, produced by faithful preaching, that carry the gospel truth far and wide, and in the result produce rich harvests. Is it not then a short-sighted policy, as well as an unsafe departure from the example of Christ and his apostles, to inculcate any thing less than a full gospel? Do not both principle and policy unite in showing that success waits only on uncompromising fidelity and courage? And shall not Christians among us insist that the missionaries whom they sustain be found faithful to their trust; and that the Societies to which they give their contributions shall keep themselves clear from the blood of all men, by refusing in any way to be implicated in, or give countenance to, the guilt of churches involved in slaveholding?

Is it said, the responsibility of admitting slaveholders to the privileges of the Church, and neglecting to discipline them, rests upon the churches to which the missionaries of the Home Missionary Society preach? It is true that the churches, or the sessions of the churches, have the decision of these questions; but the officiating minister is the moderator of the church or the session, often as such has the casting vote, and usually possesses an influence sufficient to turn the scale when there is a division of sentiment. The missionary cannot then, any more than the Society that sustains him, throw the responsibility of admitting slaveholders to church privileges, or neglecting to discipline such offenders, from himself, upon the church to which he ministers. He may intimate, in his discourses and conversation, his opposition to slavery, and its inconsistency with Christianity; but if, at the same time, he recognizes the Christian character of slaveholders, admits them to the membership of the Church, administers to them the holy ordinances of the Church, he acts in an individual as well as ministerial capacity, and sanctions the sin of slaveholding. If he merely *preached* to such persons with Christian fidelity, the case would be otherwise; but when he goes beyond this, and aids in introducing slaveholders to the Church, or fellowships them as Christians in good and regular standing, both he, and the Society that sustains him, with a full knowledge and approbation of his conduct, must be considered greatly censurable.

It is acknowledged by all who profess to believe that slavery is a moral evil, that it will be eventually subverted by the gospel. Even men who

claim that slavery was tolerated under the Mosaic dispensation, and that Christ and the apostles did not forbid it, consent to this. But it is obvious that an exposition of the gospel that tolerates such an iniquity cannot be efficacious in subverting it. A different kind of exposition is necessary before the evil will be seen in all its atrocity, before it will be universally considered utterly inconsistent with a Christian profession. The axe must be laid at the root of the tree. A gospel thus understood and preached, and none other, will be the means of the "pulling down of strongholds," with respect to slavery and all other iniquities. It is because we feel the truth of these sentiments, and deeply lament the course taken by those who think otherwise, that we are constrained to expostulate with the managers of societies who, while professing to be anti-slavery in their principles, encourage the practice of slaveholding, and thus, as we believe, make the gospel, which is anti-slavery in all its principles and tendencies, a minister of sin.

Some, we know, are entangled in their apprehensions of duty, on account of the obligation resting upon them, as they think, not to introduce questions of moral reform not contemplated at the formation of the associations or societies with which they and persons connected with slavery are confederated. They reason thus: The constitutions of these societies are similar to the Constitution of our government; by uniting ourselves to them, we have virtually consented that we would co-operate to carry them on to the exclusion of every thing not specifically named; and we have no right now to insist upon measures that will of necessity drive away those who have equal rights with ourselves. In answer to such objections it may be said, the majority of a Society have an undoubted right to conduct its affairs agreeably to the intent of its founders, provided that intent is consistent with the gospel of Christ. If they find that the principles of association restrict them in the performance of duty, or require them to do manifest wrong, they have a right to revise the articles of association, and so amend them as to give free scope to their obligations to God and man. Disaffected members can retire without just cause of complaint against their associates. This is, we believe, a correct principle with regard to civil and ecclesiastical associations. It cannot be supposed that God will sanction men in doing wrong, or refraining from doing right. Christians, in their associated as well as in their individual capacity, are under solemn obligations to inculcate truth unmixed with error, and, both by precept and example, to exhibit Christianity in its entire strictness, spirituality and thoroughness. Times and seasons may be innocently selected according to the judgment of men, but who will dare suppress any part of the commission given to the ambassadors of Christ?

Rev. John G. Fee, of Kentucky, formerly one of the missionaries of the Society, which he left because of what he deemed its pro-slavery charac-

ter, and connected himself with the American Missionary Association, has during the past year gathered a second church in that State on anti-slavery principles. He has not found it an easy task, but in the success that has attended his efforts, he finds evidence of the Divine approbation. He is a witness to the fact that an anti-slavery gospel can be preached in a slaveholding community, and that under it slaveholders will renounce the sin, and embrace a religion that affords no countenance to chattel slavery. Mr. Fee reports to the Society that employs him as follows :—

The good accomplished here is not confined to the little church gathered under so many adverse circumstances, but is felt by all denominations of Christians, and in all the surrounding country is agitating the public mind on the subject of slavery, and eliciting from many ministers and churches sermons and expressions on the subject, and on the duty of Christians to withhold all fellowship from the slaveholder.

Mr. Fee, speaking of a member of his church, employed as a colporteur for the Society with which he is connected, reports :—

One of our members is travelling over the State as a colporteur, visiting all classes from house to house, talking with them freely on the subject of personal religion, selling the Tract Society's publications, giving Bibles to such slaves as can read, talking with slaveholders and non-slaveholders about the sinfulness of slaveholding, and the guilt of fellowshipping it in the Christian Church, and leaving at almost every house anti-slavery documents, illustrative of these points. And now we want a more complete assortment of anti-slavery tracts.

The colporteur alluded to was arrested at the instance of a member of the Baptist Church, on a charge of enticing away a slave, but on trial was acquitted. Another person has since taken his place, and is laboring successfully, distributing the Bible,* Address to Non-Slaveholders, and other anti-slavery publications. The Committee of the A. and F. A. S. S. have in press a revised edition of a manual, containing an examination of the passages in Scripture claimed by the defenders of slavery as sustaining the practice of slaveholding; a comprehensive tract, showing in the light of the Bible, the sinfulness of slaveholding; and another tract on the duty of Christians to have no church fellowship with slaveholders. All of them are written by Mr. Fee, and are intended for circulation by the anti-slavery citizens of slave States.

* In a speech before the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1850, Hon. Abbott Lawrence, Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James, made the following excellent remark: "I say that it is a duty to place this book in the hands of every human being that can read it; and if there are those who cannot read it, it is our duty to teach them to read and understand its inspirations. [Hear, hear.]" It is proper to say here that the American Bible Society intrusts the distribution of the Bible to its auxiliaries. Should it not see that, in case of the neglect of any auxiliary to distribute the Bible to slaves who can read, or who, if possessed of a Bible or Testament, would learn to read or be read to, that measures be taken to supply the delinquency? It has been understood that the Society keeps a Bible "Fund for Slaves," but this is a mistake; no separate account is kept. All the money given to the Society, whether for "slaves" or other objects, goes into a common treasury, and none is set apart specially to furnish the slaves with Bibles. The Society gives Bibles liberally to all who apply, if proper subjects of this charity, but does not undertake to supply the slaves. This is, however, done by the American Missionary Association, which has employed colporteurs for that very purpose.

We have previously mentioned the action of the AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION on the Fugitive Slave Bill. The missionaries and col-porteurs of this Society are exerting a good anti-slavery influence in Africa, Siam, the Sandwich Islands, Jamaica, Canada, and in the different States of the Union. They preach to rulers and people on the sinfulness of slavery, the slave-trade, and oppression in all its forms, and their labors have been very successful. The Kaw-Mendi mission, Africa, has been very successful in abolishing the internal slave-trade in all that region of country, and putting an end to devastating wars which are often made to obtain slaves to sell to the foreign traders who hover on the coast. Besides a large number of foreign missionaries, the Association sustains upwards of twenty home missionaries, who are exerting a beneficial influence in building up Sunday-schools and churches that regard anti-slavery principles an important part of Christianity.

A Convention at Cincinnati during the past year formed the WESTERN HOME AND FOREIGN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION. It is disconnected with slavery, and auxiliary to the American Missionary Association. No slaveholder is admitted to membership. This Society will not contribute its funds to missionaries or churches that "support, countenance or tolerate slavery," and it will "endeavor particularly to discountenance slavery, by refusing to receive the known fruits of unrequited labor, or to welcome to its employment those who hold their fellow-beings as slaves."

A Christian Anti-Slavery Convention was held at Ottawa, Ill., in June last, which adopted the following resolutions:—

1. *Resolved*, That the religious organizations—churches, ecclesiastical bodies, and missionary associations, *which do not array their influence against American slavery*, are responsible for its existence and continuance, with all its horrors and abominations; and all those who are in connection and fellowship with those bodies are individually partakers in the guilt.

2. *Resolved*, That the light which sixteen years' extended and faithful discussion has thrown upon the subject of human rights, has brought the churches and great religious organizations into a position where they must either abjure American slavery by disfellowshipping those who practise or defend it; or forfeit all claim to the Christian name, and to a consistent regard for the distinguishing tenets of an evangelical faith.

3. *Resolved*, That no legislative enactments can make it wrong to aid in the escape of fugitive slaves from bondage. And in the event the bill now pending before the United States Senate for the recapture of fugitive slaves becomes a law, we shall feel under obligations to obey God rather than man, disregarding its requirements.

The General Association of Illinois, at its last annual meeting, discussed the relation of mission Boards to slavery, and passed the following resolutions:—

That it is absurd to expect that public sentiment will ever condemn any practice as wrong and sinful, so long as it finds countenance among the leading evangelical churches of the community.

That it is the imperative duty of the Home Mission Society to extend no further aid to churches which do not take the ground that slaveholding is *primâ facie* evidence against a man's Christian character.

That the A. B. C. F. M. ought to sustain no missionary or missionary churches which do not pledge themselves to eradicate the evil from their respective bodies,

as speedily as sound wisdom will permit, and that it is the duty of the Board to announce publicly their determination not to sustain them.

That a neglect on the part of these Boards to take speedy and decisive action against slavery, hitherto corrupting the gospel through their instrumentality, must destroy our confidence, and that of the churches we represent, in their trustworthiness for managing the missionary funds of the Church.

A Christian Anti-Slavery Convention was held at Medina, Ohio, soon after, composed of delegates from many denominations. They went thoroughly into the matter of considering and discussing the duty of protesting against American slavery. No permanent Society was formed, but the members of the Convention pledged themselves to separate from all churches that fellowship slaveholders.

At a Convention of New-England Baptists, held at Lowell, Mass., a Constitution was formed, the third article of which is as follows :—"This Society shall be entirely disconnected from slavery in all its forms, and shall not receive the known avails of oppression into its treasury."

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST FREE MISSION SOCIETY maintains, strictly, its anti-slavery character. It has a mission at Haiti that is exerting a good influence, and the college, founded and sustained by the Society, at McGrawville, N. Y., is said to be in a flourishing condition. A colored gentleman received an appointment of Professor in the institution, and the college aims not only to promote sound education, but to discountenance caste, and all opposition to freedom.

It is exceedingly gratifying to learn that students in colleges and members of theological seminaries, instead of being blinded or palsied by aged pro-slavery teachers, are using their own judgments with regard to the principles they shall adopt and the measures they will pursue with reference to the great reforms of the day. Within a few weeks, a petition has been presented in the Senate of Massachusetts, and referred to a special committee, from one of the "schools of the prophets." It is as follows :—

To the Honorable the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

The undersigned, members of the Theological Seminary in Andover, believing that the recent Act of Congress, entitled an "Act to amend and supplementary to the Act entitled an Act respecting fugitives from justice and other persons escaping from the service of their masters," endangers the personal liberty of a portion of the inhabitants of this Commonwealth; believing moreover that the spirit and the provisions of said Act contravene the moral sentiments of a majority of our citizens and the law of God, do respectfully petition your honorable body—

First,—to adopt such measures as your wisdom may dictate and your constitutional obligations allow, for securing those safeguards of personal liberty which rightfully belong to the citizens of a free and Christian State; and second,—to request the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress to use their best efforts to secure the immediate repeal of said Act.

J. H. LORING, and 58 others.

Another gratifying evidence that the young men at Andover, preparing for active service in the Church, are self-poised on moral subjects, is found in the fact that the Rhetorical Society, at a meeting to consider the question, "Ought the North to aid the South in the recovery of fugitive slaves?" decided by an overwhelming majority in the negative.

The Slave Power has made rapid strides within a few years. On the

annexation of Texas, and the dismemberment of Mexico, the perpetualists claimed a great triumph, and many persons feared that we were doomed to be a slaveholding nation for centuries to come. The arrogance of the oligarchy knew no bounds. But Providence interposed. The Omnipotent seemed to say of slavery, in the language of Holy Writ, "Here shall thy proud waves be stayed." California was admitted into the Union as a free State. Southern politicians exhibited much wrath, and made violent threats, but a large part of them were soothed, and their pride gratified, by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill. They took counsel of their "sober second thoughts," and deemed the best part of valor to be discretion. "If we cannot extend slavery," said they, "over unlimited territory, and have an indefinite number of new slave States, we will make a hunting ground of the free States, compel the freemen of the North to help us recover our runaways, and meantime concert measures for the introduction of slavery into New-Mexico and Utah. The North, headed by Daniel Webster, appeared to acquiesce, and exult in the cry, "The Union is preserved, trade will flourish, and the agitation of the vexed question will cease." Vain confidence! New elements of agitation were introduced by the compromise project, and there is no probability that the controversy will cease while slavery exists. Freedom and slavery are and must be antagonistic. Not even a dissolution of the Union would put an end to the warfare. Freedom must triumph! The contest may be long and fierce, but the issue is certain. Let this conviction sustain and animate the friends of liberty. Meantime we may glance at what is being done to sustain the tottering institution at the South.

The slaveholding States are devising stringent measures for the removal of the free people of color from their territory. Colonization, ever ready to afford its aid to such schemes, has recommended a line of government steamers, ostensibly for commercial purposes, but really to convey the free blacks in large numbers to Africa, at the expense of the country. This is done while Mr. Clay, the President of the Colonization Society, avows in effect, what is a notorious fact, that heretofore as many colored persons have been carried to Liberia as could be taken care of with safety and convenience. In speaking of "these poor creatures," Mr. Clay says :—

If we had thrown some fifteen or twenty thousand a year of free people of color upon the coast of Africa, it would have been impossible to provide suitably for them, and they would have perished by famine.*

Rev. R. J. Breckenridge, in a discourse delivered before the Kentucky Colonization Society, at Frankfort, on the 6th February, 1851, says :—

Hitherto they (the free blacks) have been found willing to emigrate, as rapidly as the means at the disposal of the various Societies made it proper, or the condition of the several colonies made it prudent, to send them.

* Speech at the annual meeting of the Am. Colonization Society, Jan. 21, 1851.

This is what the Abolitionists have always said, and yet they have been reproached for placing hindrances in the way of the emigration of colored people. These "hindrances" have been the presentation of truth. Mr. C. and Mr. B. now come forward, and vouch for one of the statements thus made by anti-slavery men. Abolitionists have never been opposed to voluntary emigration. They believe that every colored person has as undoubted a right to emigrate to California, Oregon, Jamaica, Liberia, or elsewhere, where business or other motives may lead him, as white citizens have. But so far as the colonization scheme contemplates emancipation for the purpose of removal to Africa, leaving the colored man to choose only between slavery or expatriation; and so far as it contemplates the removal of free blacks because, as Mr. Clay once said, they are "nuisances," and disaffect the slave population, there have been and will be insuperable objections. There are also objections of another sort. So long as slavery exists in this country, it is important that influential persons of color should, even at a sacrifice, remain here, advocating the rights of their brethren, and showing by their example the capacity of the colored man to enjoy and improve our civil and religious institutions. Until freedom is universally enjoyed, they cannot be spared either by their brethren or their friends.

But no statement respecting Liberia has equalled those made by Lieut. Forbes of the British Navy, in his recent work, entitled "Dahomey and the Dahomans." He was the fellow-traveller of the lamented African explorer, Duncan, in his embassy for the suppression of the slave-trade. He accuses Liberia of giving countenance and aid to slavery, as will be seen by the following extract:—

In Liberia there is as much, if not more, domestic slavery—that is, the buying and selling of God's image—as in the parent States of America, over which flaunts the flag of Liberty. It is difficult to see the necessity or the justice of the negro who escapes from slavery on one side, crossing the Atlantic to enslave his sable prototype on the other, yet such is the case; and so long as it lasts, notwithstanding the attractive reports that emanate from this new Republic, it cannot be held as an example of future good, but, if possible, should be re-modelled, even if at the expense of internal revolution, or even total annihilation. I doubt if many benevolent Christians in this country are aware, that the model Republic is, in reality, a new name and form for slavery in enslaved Africa, and, until the system be altered, totally undeserving of the high support and liberal charity it receives from the benevolence of Englishmen. The system of domestic slavery is by no means confined to the Liberian portion of civilized Africa. Pawns (as the fashion terms the slaves on the Gold Coast) are received and held by Englishmen indirectly, and are to all intents and purposes their slaves. The plan adopted is this: The merchant takes unto himself a *femme du pays*, and she manages his establishment. Nor does he inquire how she hires his servants. Her mode is to accept pawns, *i. e.*, purchase slaves, by receiving man, woman, and child in liquidation of debt; in other words, selling goods to native merchants, who, for convenience, leave slaves in payment. These pawns are as directly slaves to their master as any slaves in the United States, but cannot be sold out of the country. I myself am aware of one *femme du pays* of a British merchant being the owner of forty pawns, who perform the household and other services of the master, and are, except in name, his slaves.

Since this Report was prepared, we perceive that the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society have publicly denied the

truth of Lieut. Forbes's statement. They appeal to the Constitution and Laws of Liberia, and to the testimony of the Recording Secretary of the Society, who has resided there, in proof that *slavery is not allowed*. They also produce letters from an officer of the British squadron, that the slave-trade has been extinguished; and from another officer, that "no such thing as domestic slavery exists, in any shape, amongst the citizens of the Republic." Lieut. Forbes, we perceive, has reiterated his statement. He did not assert that slavery is legalized or exists openly in Liberia, but states that it is an *evasion* of the law, disguised under another name.

Mr. Clay professes to support the colonization scheme partly because it tends to the suppression of the foreign slave-trade. His humane feelings are outraged by its atrocities, and he considers it a disgrace to the civilized world, while he consents to the far more abominable domestic slave-trade, and to the seizure and re-enslavement of his own countrymen who have tasted of the sweets of liberty.

The African mail steamer project does not find favor with all the slaveholding politicians. The Naval Committee of the House of Representatives reported in favor of the scheme, several newspapers advocated it, but nothing further was done in Congress on the subject.*

It is apparent, and the declaration of Mr. Clay corroborates the fact, that colonization cannot be regarded, as some persons affect to regard it, as a remedy for slavery. The annual removal of one fourth of the increase of the slaves would, he acknowledges, have produced a famine in Liberia. Is it not time then that every sensible person in the country abandoned the chimera of putting an end to slavery by colonizing its victims? Let colored citizens, if duty calls, go to any portion of the earth where they can improve their condition; let benevolent persons assist them, if they please, as they would other citizens under like circumstances; but it is time that every intelligent man abandoned the notion of aiding the work of emancipation, or the removal of prejudice, by liberating slaves on condition that they go to Africa, or urging free people of color to forsake their native land in order to secure good treatment on a foreign shore. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the colonization scheme was devised and has been sustained chiefly to "rid the country of the free negroes." Politicians and ministers of the gospel have united in this unholy alliance, caring less about the welfare of the colored man than the furtherance of a plan to "separate the races." Here and there a friend of "African colonization" may be found who is also a true friend of the people of color; but the great body of its supporters, instead of laboring to make the residence of the people of color here agreeable to them and the community, insist that the two races cannot dwell together on this continent, and that, as

* This project had its origin in a memorial to Congress of Joseph Bryan, of Alabama, and his associates, which was published, with a circular, by the American Colonization Society. The plot has been exposed in the *Evening Post* of August 3, 1850.

"prejudice is invincible," the blacks must be expatriated for the convenience of the Anglo-Saxon race.* Slaveholders—and it is they who have been the principal managers of the Society from the beginning—care very little what becomes of its victims, so that their slaves be freed from the contaminating and disaffecting sight of men of their own color in freedom.

It may be well to give some specimens of the cruelties practised in order to oppress and drive away free people of color from slave States. In the city of Washington, which is still disgraced by the existence of slavery and the domestic slave-trade, many of the free people of color are respectable property-holders; their property is taxed the same as white citizens, and thus they have contributed their share to build up the capital of the nation. In fact, they have contributed more than their just proportion, for although their property is taxed for school purposes, not a single school facility is extended to them †

In Maryland, where there are 50,000 free blacks, it has been proposed to have a clause inserted in the new Constitution to *compel* all free blacks and mulattoes, after a specified day, to leave the State, empowering the Governor, should they refuse, to send them, *nolens volens*, to Liberia. The Chairman of the Committee on Colored Population, in the Constitutional Convention, has reported in favor of the above, and also that after the adoption of the new Constitution they shall be incapable of purchasing or holding real estate; all deeds, wills, &c., purporting to convey to them real estate, shall be null and void, not to affect existing titles, but leases of real estate to them not to exceed one year to be valid; no slaves to be manumitted except on condition of leaving the State within thirty days thereafter; no colored person to come into the State to reside.

In Missouri the laws are very severe against free people of color. It is stated in the *St. Louis Republican* that four negroes, lately confined in jail, upon a charge of being in the State without a license, and who were unable to pay their fines, were flogged, by order of the County Court, and turned loose, with orders to leave the State in three days. We had hoped that there was too much humanity in St. Louis to have allowed such an atrocious procedure. Is freedom deemed a crime there? ‡

* The New-York *Tribune* advocates colonization as a means of abolishing the African slave-trade, and as affording an opportunity for the free blacks to show that by themselves they are capable of improvement! The editor, like many other persons, we are sorry to say, seems disposed to yield to the unchristian prejudice against color, instead of opposing it and giving its subjects equal rights here, and the opportunity to rise by their own merits. What sane man doubts that if all disabilities were removed, colored men in large numbers would show their capacity and disposition to sustain themselves and their families as good citizens in the land of their birth?

† *National Era*, June 20, 1850.

‡ In a late paper, we noticed that a rum-seller in Platte county, Mo., who had sold a quart of whiskey at a store to a slave, which occasioned him to get drunk, fall from a horse, and get frozen to death, had to pay, on a suit by the slaveholder, "a widow lady," \$800, the value of the slave.

"A Southern Clergyman" says, in the *New-York Observer*: "The present law of South Carolina forbids the migration of any free negro into the State. If he refuses to quit, he shall be whipped at the discretion of the Court; and if he still refuses, he shall be sold as a slave." Such is the mercy of the Palmetto State!

The Council of the Cherokee Nation, not to be outdone by white slaveholders, have imposed a heavy tax on all free negroes and mulattoes residing in the Nation. Some of the Cherokee Indians are, it is well known, slaveholders; and several of these, together with about an equal number of slaves, are members of the church gathered and taught by the missionaries of the American Board, whose Secretary stated, a few years since, that "the policy of the missionaries has been to preach the gospel, without aiming to exert any direct influence on the subject of slavery." What sort of a gospel is that?

We have previously stated that Congress, at its last session, passed a bill prohibiting the importation of slaves into the District of Columbia from any of the slave States, for the purpose of sale. Many persons have supposed that the bill went farther, and abolished the slave-trade in the District. But this is a mistake. The Southerners refused to make any such concession. While they were willing to abolish the coffees and the pens, so conspicuous at the national capital in the eyes of foreigners, the trade in the District remains as heretofore in all its horrors. Hon. Preston King asked leave to introduce a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, but it was refused by a vote of 109 nays to 52 yeas. Many Northern members dodged the question.

We find in the *Journal of Commerce* the following statement of monstrous cruelty by an infuriated slaveholder, which reminds us of the graphic delineation of the contagious influence of slaveholding ferocity in Jefferson's Notes on Virginia:—

Captain Sidney Lain, having beaten a negro woman most unmercifully yesterday, in Matthews county, his brother, William Lain, went to his house to remonstrate with him for such cruelty in beating the negro. He told him to leave or he would shoot him, and taking up the gun he shot his brother down without further words; and finding he had not killed him, he reloaded, and placing the muzzle against his body, shot again, which caused death instantly. Great excitement prevails in Matthews county. The murderer was not arrested, and is supposed to have gone North.

The heart is pained at the recital of cruelties inflicted upon unoffending fellow-creatures; yet we feel it a duty to record a specimen of what weekly transpires in Richmond, the capital of the Old Dominion, as the countrymen of Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Madison, and Marshall delight to call their native State. We extract from the *New-York Tribune*:—

SOUTHERN SLAVERY, BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

RICHMOND, Va., Monday, May 13.

As I was conversing with some Southerners in Washington upon Free Soil, they expressed a desire that I should go South and see slavery as it exists there, and I

would come back freed of all Free Soil notions. One from Florida was particularly anxious that I should go home with him, and he would show me a tame alligator, nine feet long, that he fed on terrapins and dead niggers. "Never costs me any thing to bury a dead nigger," said he. I resolved to go as far South as this place, to see if there was so much difference between the practice and theory of slavery. As I sallied forth this morning to see the place, almost the first thing that met my view was a large house, surrounded by a very high brick wall. Upon asking the first passer-by what it was, he informed me that it was a nigger jail, where the traders confined their slaves preparatory to taking them South. He very politely offered to conduct me through it, which I gladly accepted. I have heretofore supposed that the term "slavery in chains," as used in the newspapers, was a figure of speech, used comparatively. But here they were actually manacled, their feet chained together, sitting around on benches in the most filthy, loathsome place I ever saw. I questioned one as to why he was chained. He said he had been sold to go South, and he wanted to see his wife again before he went, and had run away to go back to his old master's for that purpose. My heart was too full to question any of the others.

In the female department there was a very pretty white woman with two children. By close inspection it might be seen that she had a little African blood in her veins, apparently not over one tenth, but the children did not show the least trace of it. I expressed surprise at this to my conductor, as I had supposed slavery to be confined to the African race, when I was informed that there was no limit of blood in this State. So long as the mother is a slave the offspring is also, no matter of what color. I have since learned that there are numerous slaves in this city as white as their masters.

My next move was to attend a slave auction. The slaves of all colors, from sooty black to perfect white, were brought in and seated on benches. Here they were subjected to a most particular examination. It was curious to see the manner of the speculators in examining their teeth. They would order them to open their mouth, then press back their lips with their two thumbs, just as a jockey would examine a horse. On a window-sill lay a large pile of manacles; some were constructed of a large rod of iron with handcuffs on each side, so as to form a row. The first lot sold was the white woman and her two children, that I before spoke of. The auctioneer extolled her qualities by representing her to be a first-rate seamstress, &c. She was struck down at \$1,105.

The lackey of the place (himself a slave) then leads up a man about 25. "Unharness yourself, old boy," says he. The man, trembling like a leaf all the while, strips himself, with the assistance of the lackey, in full view of the street and of the female slaves. The lackey asks him what he is shaking for, as he is not going to be hurt. The auctioneer announces no scars on his back of any consequence, and the sale proceeds: sold at \$455. Next comes a little girl of 13, about half white; then two twin brothers of about 14, sold to different masters, one, I was told, to a Southern trader; and so on to the end of the sale, when the gentlemen were thanked for their attention, and their attendance requested to-morrow, when they would be shown something nice. During the sale my attention was called to the door by a string of slaves going past, chained together, probably on their way to some Southern plantation.

Altogether, this was the most heart-sickening sight I ever saw. I involuntarily exclaimed: "Is it possible that this is permitted in my own native country—the country I have loved so well, and whose institutions I have exultingly pointed to as an example for the world?"

I am confident that the most effective way for Abolitionists to gain converts to their cause is to send Northerners as far South as this place, and let them attend one of these slave auctions. Hard, indeed, must be the heart of one who could look upon such a scene and not blush for his country's shame. I remonstrated with some of the inhabitants for permitting such a thing among them. They all have the Bible and Christianity at their tongue's end, and are ready to point out passages to justify it, and show that it is a God-ordained institution. "If this is Christianity," I replied, "don't call me a Christian."

"The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." The truth of this Divine declaration is witnessed, not only in the treatment to which a large portion of the slaves of this country are subject, but in the ferocity

with which those are viewed who are suspected of enlightening them. A case has occurred in North-Carolina, showing the truth of this remark, and we have been furnished with the following particulars:—

Some anti-slavery pamphlets were distributed in that State in 1844. The result was, some Methodists became so much opposed to slavery, that they refused to go with the South when the M. E. Church was divided. On inquiry they learned that the Northern division was not wholly anti-slavery, but that there was a Methodist anti-slavery Church at the North. A letter of inquiry was sent to Rev. Luther Lee, of New-York, who gave the requisite information; and a Wesleyan Methodist church was organized in North-Carolina, on the principle of non-fellowship with slaveholders.

In 1847, Rev. Adam Crooks was sent to that Southern field of labor. The work increased upon his hands, and in 1848 Rev. J. C. Bacon was sent to his assistance. The work still increased, and in 1849 Rev. Jesse McBride was sent. The work continues to increase in interest and extent; and there is at the present time a membership of nearly five hundred persons, with five or six chapels, extending over portions of North-Carolina and Virginia.

The above-named ministers have been persecuted by slaveholders. Mr. Bacon has been twice indicted and put upon trial. On the charge of violating the law of Virginia by words and in the pulpit, he was acquitted; but on a charge for circulating the Narrative of Frederick Douglass, he was convicted. An appeal was taken, and the higher court reversed the decision. Mr. McBride has been indicted for giving a little pamphlet, entitled "The Ten Commandments," (applying the Decalogue to slavery,) to a white girl where he boarded; tried, convicted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory an hour, receive twenty lashes on the bare back, and be imprisoned one year. He has appealed to the Supreme Court.

Elder Edwards Matthews, an agent of the American Baptist Free Mission Society, who went to Kentucky to lecture on the moral and religious condition of the slaves, after applying in vain to three or four churches in Richmond, Madison county, for an opportunity, preached by invitation to a colored congregation; after which he was assailed by a mob, and after some personal indignities, but no serious injury, driven from the town. Proceeding to the residence of Cassius M. Clay, he prepared a statement of the outrage for publication, and left, but was pursued by some ruffians, thrown into the water several times, and, in an exhausted state, left to pursue his journey.

The infuriated slaveholders are not satisfied with inflicting barbarities upon the citizens of the free States who attempt to teach the slaves. Citizens of their own States, who express anti-slavery sentiments, are not exempt from molestation. In Alabama Captain Elisha Betts, of Eufaula, a man advanced in years, was ordered by a company of lynchers, at a public meeting convened for the purpose, to leave the State for addressing a letter to the *National Era* on the Evils of Slavery. He was born and reared in South-Carolina, and is said to be a person of irreproachable character.

The imprisonment of Northern colored seamen, and colored seamen from other countries, at Southern ports, from the arrival until the departure of the vessels to which they belong, and the incidents growing out of it, have excited, the last year, unusual attention. About a year since the master of the bark "Mary Ann" was summoned to the Police Office, London, to show cause why he had refused to pay the

wages of Isaac Bowers, his black steward, while he was shut up in prison at Charleston, S. C. The case was afterwards brought before the notice of the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston stated as follows :—

In 1847 a note was addressed to the Government of the United States, remonstrating against the law of South-Carolina,* as not only inconsistent with the established polity of nations, but at variance with a portion of the first article of the treaty of 1815. Mr. Buchanan replied, verbally, that the Federal Government had no power to induce the Legislature of the State of South-Carolina to revoke the law; and that if the British Government insisted on its right, the Government of the United States would be obliged, reluctantly, to put an end to the treaty, upon giving twelve months' notice. Her Majesty's Government did not think any commensurate advantages would result from pressing the matter.

In January, the British Consul at Charleston, Mr. Mathew, entered into a correspondence with the Governor of South-Carolina, Mr. Means, about the law of that State which authorizes the imprisonment of free colored seamen. The Consul protested against the law, as infringing upon the rights of British seamen under the treaty. The Governor made a courteous reply, and promised to submit the communication to the Legislature. He did so, and the Legislature referred the matter to a committee, to report thereon the next session—a year hence!

The subject, so far as American seamen are concerned, was taken up in the Senate of the United States during the last session of Congress, and produced a highly excited discussion. Senator Winthrop, of Massachusetts, who had alluded to the laws of the Southern States for the imprisonment of colored seamen, while the vessels to which they belonged remained in port, was replied to by Senator Butler, of South-Carolina, who said the North did not allow the blacks to sit on juries, or be mustered in the militia, and ought not, after making such a discrimination, to complain of the South for doing the same, or preventing Northern colored seamen from tampering with the slaves. Mr. Winthrop, during his reply, read a letter from Captain Charles A. Ranlett, a shipmaster of Boston, stating that his seamen had been taken from his vessel in Southern ports, and that he had reason to believe that large numbers were imprisoned in all the ports south of Charleston, inclusive. He then remarked that he had in his possession a statement made by a person who had kept the Colored Sailor's Home in New-York some years since, by which it appeared that the number of colored seamen imprisoned in New-Orleans during a single year was 1200, in Charleston 500, in Savannah 300, and in Alabama 500. He would not, however, vouch for the correctness of the statement. Senator Berrien, of Georgia, affirmed that it was untrue. Senator Winthrop replied that it was not a question of numbers, but of principle.

A few days subsequently, Senator Winthrop introduced highly respectable testimony as to the good character of Captain Ranlett. Senator Soulé, of Louisiana, said in substance as follows :—

* This law was enacted December 19th, 1835. Judge Johnson, of the Supreme Court of South-Carolina, pronounced the act unconstitutional.

The law of Louisiana requires the harbor masters to report people of color coming on board of ships from other States to Louisiana, to the municipal authorities, who thereupon are to issue warrants for the arrest of such persons. But the law goes no farther in its severity. It only provides besides for the extradition of persons thus arrested to the State from whence they came, at their own cost, if they are able to pay; but at the cost of the State, if they are not. The law has been thus since 1842. The whole number imprisoned in New-Orleans does not exceed thirty-six in a year.

Senator Butler said he did not think the number imprisoned in Charleston was more than half that. He farther stated that no sailor had ever been sold in Charleston under the law. He continued as follows:—

I measure my words, sir, and, so far as regards the English seamen, I believe there is a willingness to modify the law to-morrow. And so far as regards even the colored men from the North, I think we would be willing to modify it.

During the debate it was stated by Senator Berrien that the State laws were constitutional, and he could show by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that their constitutionality is undeniable and undenied by that high tribunal. If the above statements are true, how happened it that the visit of Mr. Hoar, the agent of Massachusetts, who went to Charleston to test the constitutionality of the law, made such a prodigious excitement in South-Carolina; that Mr. Hubbard, the agent to Louisiana, was ordered to depart from that city as summarily as Mr. Hoar had been ejected from Charleston; that the Legislature of South-Carolina did not at once, on the application of the British Consul, "modify" the law as it respects English seamen; and that the law has not been modified as it respects colored seamen from the North? Does the presence of a dozen or two of black sailors at each of the Southern ports during the course of a year, not in a body, but one or two at a time, produce such consternation that the authorities are obliged, in self-defense, to imprison them lest an insurrection should break out? Is the "institution" so liable to explode? The truth is, although the statements presented by Senator Winthrop may be exaggerated, the statements on the other side must have been singularly diminished.

A free colored sailor belonging to the *Majestic*, of Boston, was arrested and put in jail last August, at Wilmington, North-Carolina. The captain procured his release on paying six dollars, but the man was no sooner on board the vessel than he was again arrested, and carried back to jail, the authorities refusing to give him up, unless his *free papers* were procured. He had none, and lies in jail still, for aught we have heard.

We find in the *Tribune* of April 9th the following:—

A correspondence has taken place between Captain Porter of the steamship *Georgia* and Recorder Genois of New-Orleans, on the subject of enforcing the law of Louisiana, requiring the imprisonment of free negroes arriving on vessels entering that port, until the departure of the vessel. Captain Porter claims exemption on the ground that the *Georgia* is a national vessel, under officers of the Navy, and subject to the orders of the Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Genois, under the advice of the District Attorney, does not recognize the claim to exemption, but on account of the *Georgia* being ready for sea, consents to defer the issue of the warrants;

nevertheless, he notifies Captain Porter that upon the return of the Georgia to that port, he must execute the law.

The attorney takes high ground on the subject of State rights, and claims that the State has a right to legislate for her protection ; and if in law no exception is made regarding Government employees, they are as amenable to the law as any one else. He goes on to say :—

If Government were to employ free negroes on mail boats, might not free negroes be employed to carry mails throughout the State? Might not Government also, if the doctrine be admitted, employ vast numbers of free negroes on naval vessels, and thus flood the whole Southern country with free negroes? Whether even Government vessels have a right to land in our ports with free negroes seems to me a very doubtful question.

The arrogance of the Slave Power knows no bounds. What is there in the Constitution of the United States, that forbids the Government from employing free negroes on mail boats or naval vessels, or carrying the mails, or otherwise, as it may think proper? It has no right to make any distinction as to its employees on account of complexion. The slaveholding States forget, and the people of other States seem to forget, that slavery is a local thing, and that the Government of the United States, and the citizens of every free State, are constitutionally uncontrolled with regard to free colored citizens.

The friends of the slave have been annoyed, at several places, with suits brought by slaveholders, or at their instance, and in some cases amerced in heavy fines. A lawyer named Pratt, at Marshall, Michigan, brought six suits, says the *Cass County Advocate*, as attorney for his Kentucky plaintiffs, against seven of their citizens, five of them being members of the Society of Friends, for aiding, as was charged, slaves in obtaining their freedom.

In Indiana, a suit was brought by John Norris, of Broome county, Ky., against Leander B. Newton, E. B. Crocker, and seven others, before the Circuit Court of the United States, Mr. Justice McLean presiding, for the recovery of damages for aiding the escape of slaves. This suit was brought before the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and was disposed of mainly under a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Prigg, where the Court took the ground that the owner of a slave has the right, under the Constitution, and law of 1793, to capture his slave in a free State, and take him thence, without going before a State Court and obtaining a certificate. Norris had pursued his slaves into Michigan, having taken five or six persons with him, and, in the night, captured them and proceeded homeward to Kentucky. In Indiana a party came, accompanied by a deputy sheriff, and made an arrest under a writ of *habeas corpus*. The State Judge liberated the negroes, on the ground that there was no certificate of the right of ownership having been proved in Michigan. Norris and his party, being armed with pistols and bowie-knives, and having obtained a writ from

the clerk of the Circuit Court, attempted to take the negroes. After considerable excitement they were carried to the jail for safe keeping. Criminal suits were instituted against the Kentucky party. The negroes were demanded by Norris. In the mean time a second writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained, on which, in the end, the negroes were discharged.

Judge McLean charged the jury that the decision of the Judge on the first trial was incorrect; that the writ of *habeas corpus* was at all times proper, but the question under it in that case was the right of ownership; and that the slaves should have been remanded into the custody of Norris. The Judge said he had dissented from the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States when it was given, but he was now bound to carry it out. A heavy verdict was found for Norris. A considerable part of it has been collected of the friends of liberty in the free States, but the defendants are still heavy sufferers.

A suit was commenced in June last in Iowa, in the United States District Court, by one Daggs, of Missouri, against some benevolent members of the Society of Friends, for aiding, as was alleged, some slaves in obtaining their liberty. The jury gave a verdict of twenty-nine hundred dollars damages! An appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Justice is not unfrequently done in Southern Courts, in slave cases, that should make some of our Northern magistrates ashamed of their readiness to re-enslave those who have sought an asylum in the free States. A Baltimore correspondent of the *Tribune* relates an interesting incident:—

Our County Court was engaged for several days last week in hearing a petition of a colored woman named Rebecca Garrett, and ten children, who claimed their freedom from a man named Isaac Anderson, of Howard District. The woman had been permitted to go at large for a period of *twenty years*, during which time she had married and raised a family of ten children. Her master then, seeing that she and her family were worth some three or four thousand dollars, claimed them as his property; to be disposed of as he saw proper. Several Quakers, however, took the matter in hand, and employing good counsel contested the case in a court of justice, which resulted in the Judge's charging the jury that if they believed the petitioners had been going at large for a *long period*, (without limitation,) doing acts inconsistent with slavery, with the knowledge of their owner, they were entitled to their freedom; and so the jury rendered their verdict. The case will be taken to the Court of Appeals by the owner, however. This verdict is a great triumph of justice in Maryland, as it reverses the old accepted law, that a party could let his slaves act as free persons for years, and then, through caprice or avarice, seize them and sell them into bondage. It is one bright spot on the slave-stained escutcheon of my native State, and argues a better change of feeling than I could have hoped for.

The following case has fallen under our immediate notice. A highly respectable lawyer, in Maryland, applied to the Committee for funds to carry on a suit to the higher Courts in the State against the executor of a will who, contrary to its provisions, had kept a family in slavery for several years, with the children who had been born since the death of the testator, who directed that these parents and the children living at his

decease should be free. After a long litigation success crowned the efforts of the attorney, who had devoted considerable time and money himself before he made his application, and a final decree has been obtained, setting at liberty the parties so long unjustly enslaved.

In the *Christian Mirror*, of February 20th, is an account of a suit brought by eight negroes in Virginia for their liberty, under a will, in which they were successful. Honor to whom honor is due!

Slave-breeding is carried on very extensively in Eastern Virginia, and in several other States. "By this," may many of the chivalry say, "we have our living." We know that Mr. Stevenson, when Minister to England, denied it. It was a fact too humiliating to confess there. Mr. Clay also, in his speech in the Senate, July 22d, 1850, on the Compromise Bill, peremptorily denied that slaveholders breed slaves for sale. In our last Annual Report, page 108, it was stated that Mr. Meade, member of Congress from Virginia, in a pamphlet circulated by him, had said :—

Virginia has a slave population of near half a million, whose value is chiefly dependent upon Southern demand.

Both Mr. Clay and Mr. Meade are native-born Virginians. Mr. Meade is now one of the Senators of that State in Congress. Is he not a credible witness?

The enormous profits of the cotton planters the last year have greatly increased the price of slaves, given unusual activity to the domestic slave-trade, and of course excited the expectations of the slave-breeding States. It is under such circumstances that slaveholders always become emboldened to put forth new efforts for strengthening and extending slavery, in persecuting free people of color, and denouncing emancipationists. Their influence is then paramount in Congress and over the doughfaces of the North. When cotton advances in price, emancipation at the South flags; and both Southern and Northern apologists for slavery, at such times, accuse Abolitionists of putting back the glorious cause of emancipation. When cotton falls, emancipations are more frequent, the South lessens its vituperation of Abolitionists, and it is then said that the South is doing all in its power for the liberation of the slaves. It is at such times, also, that the colonization scheme is at flood tide.

It is frequently said, not only by slaveholders, but by their friends and apologists in the free States, that slaves are contented. The numerous instances of slaves fleeing to Canada furnish proof to the contrary. But the horrors of slavery are evinced by the voluntary sufferings of fugitives rather than be returned to slavery, and by the suicides of which we hear. A young man who was a fugitive slave, after being apprehended in this State on a false charge of grand larceny with a view to prevent his re-enslavement, plead guilty, preferring to go to the State prison, though

innocent, rather than be remanded back to slavery. In the *Non-Slaveholder*, of July, 1850, we find the following, taken from a Louisville paper:—

We learn that a likely negro girl, a slave of a passenger on the steamer Lafayette, drowned herself by jumping overboard, last Wednesday morning. She was a valuable servant, and her master had been offered \$1,000 for her. She had been corrected by him for some offense or other, and she was heard to declare that he should never slap her again. When the boat was some distance above Evansville, and while the passengers were at the dinner table, she jumped into the river from the after-guard and was drowned.

Notwithstanding the cruelties inflicted upon the slaves, the measures taken by a portion of the slaveholders to extend and perpetuate the cruel system, and the attempts of the South to make itself independent of the North by building up factories, and drawing supplies directly from foreign countries, (a commendable policy so far as it may call out the natural resources and promote the industry of the South,) a strong feeling prevails among intelligent and considerate Southern men that the Union is bound together by indissoluble ties, and that the prosperity of the great divisions is reciprocal. They perceive also that the anti-slavery sentiment at the North is prevailing and increasing in strength; they acknowledge that if the enterprise is conducted on Christian principles, it will have the sympathy of increasing numbers at the South; they know that the declarations of Scripture are in harmony with natural causes to bring about emancipation at no distant day; and they will rejoice to see it hasten on.*

Such men lament, in the language of one of their papers, the "blighting influence" of slavery upon the morals, economy, and true welfare of the South; so did John Randolph, when, in 1803, he reported against the petition of Indiana for a temporary suspension of the anti-slavery clause of the Ordinance of 1787, because slave labor was demonstrably the dearest of any. Jefferson saw and acknowledged the destroying influence of slavery upon men and children in his day. Other sages at the South have at various times reiterated the same sentiments.

Indications not to be mistaken at the present time point to an increasing anti-slavery sentiment at the South. The action of the disunionists

* Hotspurs in neither the State nor the Church, at the South, are any index of the prevailing sentiment there on the slavery question. They may, for a season, prevent the truth from reaching the minds of the moderate slaveholders, and the great body of non-slaveholders, as certain would be leaders of public sentiment have essayed to keep the churches and people of the North from a correct understanding of the anti-slavery question; but, in spite of their efforts, the people will come to a knowledge and appreciation of the subject. It has been said that the churches at the North are nearer right on the question than the ministry. It may be so at the South. The following resolution, adopted last year by the Charleston, S. C. Union Presbytery, gives, at any rate, faint hope of the ministers in that region embracing very speedily the truth on the emancipation topic:—

"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his Holy Word."

and perpetualists has stimulated it, though it has been momentarily repressed by their audacity and violence. Intelligent Southerners are inquiring for anti-slavery publications. They are anxious to obtain authentic information in regard to the workings of emancipation, and the proceedings of moderate and consistent Abolitionists. They believe that slavery is an evil, and that emancipation in some form would be a great blessing. Rev. W. C. Duncan, editor of the *New-Orleans Baptist Chronicle*, expresses himself in regard to slavery as follows:—

We shall rejoice to see that period arrive when slavery shall no longer be recognized in any part of the United States. Its existence at the South at the present day we honestly believe to be a check upon the prosperity, and an incubus upon the energies of the Southern people. As a civil institution, then, it is, we admit, an evil. We believe its prevalence in the South to be deleterious both in a moral and social point of view, and a barrier to the free progress of many useful institutions, and to the free dissemination of general intelligence.

Those at the South who hate the anti-slavery movements at the North cannot be cajoled by the cotton merchants and ministers in the free States to believe that abolition is subsiding. They read and judge for themselves, and despise the efforts of men who aim to secure their custom in trade, and their co-operation in literary or ecclesiastical objects, by misrepresenting facts. The following extract in proof is taken from a letter of Hon. A. Burt, M. C., of South-Carolina:—

Since the session of Congress in 1843, abolition has moved forward with fearful and unfaltering strides, and with a courage and constancy which scarce finds a parallel in history. . . . But, on my conscience, I believe the anti-slavery sentiment of the West is as deeply seated and infinitely more formidable than that of Massachusetts. . . . The result of all my observation and experience is the conviction that the North's hostility to the South is this day more ferocious, more universal, more confident of its strength, and more assured of its victim, than it ever was.

The following article appeared in the *New-Orleans Courier* of late date:—

STARTLING! ABOLITION STRENGTH IN THE CITY OF NEW-ORLEANS!—In conversing with a very intelligent citizen of the Second Municipality yesterday, and who has resided in this city for many years, upon the state of public opinion here upon the slavery question, we were altogether amazed and confounded to hear him declare his belief, that if the question of the abolition of slavery in Louisiana were submitted to the people of New-Orleans, the question would be carried by a two-third vote! Believing ourselves that so monstrous a proposal could not command a five per cent. vote out of the whole population, we mentioned the subject to several of our friends, and, though they all agreed that the opinion expressed was extravagant and excessive, we were hardly less amazed and confounded to hear them admit, as they distinctly did, that upon such an issue it was doubtful upon which side the majority of the citizens of New-Orleans would be found! We are constrained to admit that the gentlemen referred to have had greater opportunities than we have to come to a safe and sound conclusion upon such a matter; but the solace we derive from the counter opinions which have always been ours is altogether too precious and conservative of the peace and of the rights of the South, to be parted with and surrendered, but upon fuller proofs; but at the same time we must concede, that the statements made to us by persons of so much respectability and worth betoken a state of public sentiment here of the weightiest import, and of which we had not until now the smallest conception!

We were pleased to see in the *Wilmington* (Del.) *Chickens* the following:—

Slavery is a loss and a curse both to master and slave, but more particularly to poor whites residing in slave States.

The Committee are in possession of numerous facts that corroborate the above statements. They evince that while there exists an excitement at the South against anti-slavery movements, a counter state of feeling prevails among a portion of the people. We believe that this feeling is increasing. The violence of the Perpetualists, their encroachments on the free States, their wrath and enmity towards the free people of color, and their threats of disunion in order to induce the North to succumb, disgust no inconsiderable portion of Southerners themselves. Were they to speak out their sentiments, a tale would be heard that would astonish the timid and time-serving at the South, and confound Northern apologists of slaveholders.

We are well aware that Northerners of various professions, who visit the South on business or pleasure, often speak, after their return, of the happy condition of the slaves, the kindness of the masters, the injurious effects of anti-slavery agitation in the free States, and the determination of the South to dissolve the Union unless Northern fanatics will let them alone. But such persons see only the surface of things at the South. There are those who, when in the slave States, commune with people of another class, look deeper into the question, and find a strong feeling existing in many minds who regard with anguish the state of society in which they are forced to live, and the prospects before them. Thousands at the South take a deep interest in the agitation of the subject of slavery, wish God-speed to every judicious effort at the North for the benefit of the people of color, and look forward with devout anticipation to the day when slavery shall come to a peaceful termination.

The whole number of slaveholders in the United States does not exceed, it is said, one hundred and thirteen thousand;* so that a great majority of the white adults of the South are non-slaveholders. The slavocracy

* Taking the actual number in Kentucky for the basis of the calculation. But to this number should be added a few hundreds of Northern slaveholders. Probably in every free State there are some who own slaves at the South. We do not include Southern slaveholders who reside at the North, of whom there are a few, but native-born citizens of the free States who own slave plantations. How many there are of these miscreants we have no means of computing. A writer in the *Christian Mirror*, printed at Portland, says, "We have those in Maine who are large owners of slaves at the South, whose slaves are under task-masters." There are members of churches in the city of New-York and vicinity, and doubtless in other places at the North, who own slaves at the South. Northern merchants have owned plantations and slaves in Cuba and elsewhere, and probably do still. And numerous are the instances in which Northern merchants, members of churches as well as others, by their attorneys or other agents, seize slaves on execution for debt, and either cause them to be bound out or sold, so that they may pocket the proceeds. Our Northern preachers and politicians, who say, What have we to do with slavery here? may, in the above facts, find an answer to their question.

rules them with a rod of iron, as it has ruled the North almost from the foundation of the government. But some even of the slaveholders are tired of the system, and concur with the friends of emancipation, both in the slave and free States, respecting the evils of slavery and the blessings of freedom.

A Constitutional Convention has recently been in session in Virginia, and it has been occupied in discussing the question of the basis of representation. Western Virginia has been considered as leaning to anti-slavery, and Eastern Virginia as one of the most pro-slavery portions of the Union. Western Virginia has 495,000 white population and only 63,000 slaves, while the East has 401,000 whites and 413,000 slaves.

A contest has been carried on between these sections of the Old Dominion for many years. That part of the State east of the Blue Ridge, with about four ninths of the free population, pays nearly two thirds of the taxes. They desire that one half of the representatives should be apportioned in the ratio of the voters, and the other half in that of taxation, which would give the preponderance to the eastern section. The West demand that the representation should be in the ratio of the voters, which would give the supremacy to them. The old Constitution of the State limited the franchise to freeholders owning twenty-five acres of improved, or a hundred of unimproved land, or a house and lot in town. This was afterwards altered by making the owner of fifty acres of unimproved land a voter. The Legislature was apportioned so as to give the East nineteen Senators and the West only thirteen; to the East seventy-eight members of the House, and to the West fifty-six. It is mainly in consequence of this inequality that the Convention was called. In Western Virginia the proportion between the white and slave population is diminishing, and free labor is deemed respectable. In point of general intelligence and freedom of thought, the western part of the State is superior to the other, and it cannot be that that portion of the State will long consent to be ruled by the aristocracy of Eastern Virginia.*

The following statement, made by a Baltimore correspondent of the *Tribune*, illustrates, says a writer, an influence at work in the middle slave States, more potential than abolition lectures or incendiary pamphleteering, to effect the rapid extinction of slavery within their borders. Slaveholders cannot afford to hold property long which has to be insured at such premiums:—

The papers from Western Virginia, Western Maryland, and the Eastern Shore counties, teem with advertisements of rewards for runaway slaves. The difficulty of re-capturing runaways has increased the amount generally offered very much, \$300 and \$350 each being very common. I am informed by a slave-catcher and dealer that the loss of slave property this spring and summer from Maryland and

* Since the above was written we learn that the Basis Question will probably be settled by a compromise!—by which the lower house of the State Legislature will have in it a Western majority of 14, while the upper house will have an Eastern majority of 10. This will give the western part of the State a majority of 4 on joint ballot.

Virginia is larger than at any former period. He showed me a list of advertisements he had arranged in his note book for references, offering rewards for eighty-one, amounting to about \$12,000. The total value of this number would be fully \$50,000. A snug item for slave owners to post to "profit and loss account"—a great majority of them never being recovered.

The population statistics of the United States furnish still stronger evidence that slavery must cease, in consequence of natural causes, in several States that are now resisting the discussion of principles that lead to voluntary emancipation, and abusing those who advocate them. The following table shows the population of the two sections of the Union in 1850, compared with that of 1840:—

FREE STATES.									
Free population in 1850,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13,574,797
Do. do. 1840,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9,728,972
Increase,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,845,825
Rate of increase, 39½ per cent.									
SLAVE STATES									
Free population in 1850,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,409,938
Do. do. 1840,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4,848,150
Increase,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,561,788
Rate of increase, 32½ per cent.									
Slave population in 1850,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,075,234
Do. do. 1840,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,486,231
Increase,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	589,003
Rate of increase, 23.6 per cent.									

The *Southern Press*, the pro-slavery paper established the last year at Washington, as the organ of the slaveholders, speculates upon these general results as demonstrating that the aggregate of white and black population in the South will equal that of the North in half a century, and that in a century the white population alone of the South will equal the total population of the North, even if foreign immigration were now to cease. Dr. Bailey, the talented editor of the *National Era*, has shown that the whole argument is founded on very improbable assumptions. He shows that the natural increase of the non-slaveholding States is 26 per cent., and that of the slaveholding 24 per cent. Chickering, in his elaborate work published in 1848, estimated the natural increase of the white population of the United States at 26.28 per cent. for ten years. The estimate of the *Era* for the free population is about 25 per cent., so that the natural increase of the North is one per cent. more than the average, that of the South one per cent. less.

His calculations on this point, founded on the censuses of 1830 and 1840, make the difference much greater:—

The actual increase of the *white* population of the United States, from 1830 to 1840, was, as just stated, 3,658,428, or 34.71 *per cent.*; of free States, 2,686,546, or 39.06 *per cent.*, and of slave States, 971,882, or 26.54 *per cent.*, being greater than the *natural* increase, averaging through the United States, by 8.43, 12.78 and 26. *per cent.* respectively, and showing a great difference between the two sections of the country. This difference has arisen partly from the *greater foreign immigra*

tion into the free States, as will appear on reference to table I, the amount there being as 4 to 1, and the proportion as 2 to 1 nearly in favor of the free States.

The whole number of foreign immigrants registered at the custom-houses of the United States, in 10 years from July 1, 1830, to June 30, 1840,

was	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	579,370
Add 50 <i>per cent.</i> on account of omissions,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	289,685
Natural increase of foreign immigrants,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19,650

Total,	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	888,705
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Of whom the number of immigrants that entered the country was—

	<i>Free States.</i>	<i>Slave States.</i>
	460,030	119,340
Add 50 <i>per cent.</i> ,	230,015	59,670
Proportion of their natural increase,	15,602	4,048

Total,	-	-	705,647	183,058
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After deducting 705,647 from 2,686,546, the whole increase of the whites in the free States, we have remaining 1,980,899, which is 28.806303, &c., *per cent.* of 6,876,620, the number of the whites in 1830. This is a rate of increase of 2.52 *per cent.* more than the average of the whole country.

After deducting 183,058 from 971,882, the whole increase of the whites in the slave States, we have 788,824 for the amount of their natural increase, which is 21.548105, &c., *per cent.* of 3,660,758, their number in 1830, or 4.74 *per cent.* less than the average in the whole country, and 7.26 *per cent.* less than in the free States. Besides, it is confidently believed that more white persons emigrate from the free to the slave States, than from the slave to the free States.

The *Era* thinks the difference between the ratios of natural increase estimated too high; but, after the various calculations that have been presented, it presumes no candid mind can doubt that there is a decided difference in favor of the free States. That it is not greater is owing to the fact, that the vast new territory acquired by slavery for the last half century has delayed to a great extent its depressing influence on population. It is in the older States, whose soil has been exhausted by its improvident culture, that we are to look for its effects upon the ratio of natural increase.

The Committee have, in answer to applications from slave States, furnished publications,* and contributed aid for their diffusion, and they are in regular correspondence with Southern gentlemen animated with the same feelings as themselves. Mr. Jefferson, in his letter to Dr. Price† of England, said:—

I am satisfied, if you could resolve to address an exhortation to those young men, [in William and Mary College, Virginia,] with all that eloquence of which you are master, that its influence on the future decision of this important question [slavery] would be great, perhaps decisive.

A weekly newspaper, entitled *Progress of the Age*, under the auspices of CASSIUS M. CLAY, has recently been issued at Lexington, Ky., “devoted to universal Freedom, Education, and Improvement.” It is an

* The Society during the past year have issued several publications, some of which have had a wide circulation. Large editions of the Liberty Almanac were published. It is intended to continue it from year to year, and it is suggested to the friends of the cause that there is scarcely any way in which they can better promote it than by sending their orders for this anti-slavery manual and giving it a wide circulation.

† Jefferson's Letters, Vol. I, p. 268.

emancipation paper, and urges the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill, and "the emancipation upon the soil, after a fixed day, of all persons born in the State." Mr. Clay is visiting different parts of Kentucky and zealously advocating the cause of freedom, according to his peculiar views. His eloquence, in conjunction with the new paper, and other anti-slavery agencies in that State, will, it is thought, awaken the attention of the people more than at any former period.

The *Free Presbyterian* newspaper, at Mercer, Pa., has superseded the *Mercer Luminary*, and is conducted with new zeal and ability. Many other anti-slavery newspapers continue, with increased vigor and success, to advocate the cause. A paper in the German language has recently been started in the city of New-York, entitled the *Working Man's Gazette*. Several papers, of large circulation, some of which once opposed the anti-slavery cause, now insert a great deal of anti-slavery intelligence and argument, and exert a most beneficial influence.

Were anti-slavery men at the North united in judiciously promulgating and diffusing the great principles for the dissemination of which they originally associated themselves together, they could by the blessing of Heaven greatly increase and strengthen the anti-slavery sentiment of the country; make it almost impossible to organize opposition at the North, and even do much to render it odious at the South. This want of unity we greatly lament, but we see not how it can be prevented while so many questions of reform are intermixed with the great anti-slavery enterprise. To be successful in the great work of delivering this nation from the sin of slavery, those engaged in it must unite discretion with zeal, and be governed in all they say and do by the principles and precepts of Christianity.

Influential men, who early took a decided stand against the anti-slavery enterprise, have attempted to justify their continued opposition by alleging what they are pleased to call the fanatical and infidel views of some of the early Abolitionists, and avowed by some of their disciples. As if fanaticism or even infidelity, on the part of individuals belonging to a great reformatory association, could excuse any in their refusal to co-operate with a body of men who aim, by peaceable, moral and constitutional measures, to deliver the country from its greatest curse. We have no sympathy with those, be they Abolitionists or pro-slavery men, be they residents of the North or of the South, who malign the Church or ministry, or who advocate the destruction of the Constitution or the overthrow of the government. True abolitionism has no affinity with infidelity or anarchy, and is not justly chargeable with the errors on other subjects, of any who embrace its doctrines. It would be more reasonable to refer the origin of such errors, among professed Abolitionists, so far as they exist, to the conduct of those who, while professing to be Christians and patriots, have stood aloof from a righteous

cause that claims the warm and continued support of every friend of God and man. Theologians without humanity, politicians without honesty, and professing Christians with hearts of adamant on the subject of caste and slavery, may take to themselves a large share of the sin of increasing infidelity and misrule in this country for the last twenty years. That many have been driven into skepticism by the opposition of ministers of the gospel and church-members to the anti-slavery cause, is a fact not more true than sad. And it ought to be a matter of serious reflection, among such persons, that in opposing the principles of the anti-slavery cause they have been fighting against God.

On behalf of this Society we claim that the original principles of association have been cherished and acted out by it, with scrupulous fidelity; and so long as it shall exist we trust that all its members will be able conscientiously to say that as "we owe it to the oppressed, to oppressors, to our country, to the world, and to God, to do all that is right and lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade," we will, "with a prayerful reliance on Divine aid," adhere to the principles of the original association, maintain its Declaration of Sentiments, and aid to prosecute the work in a manner to commend it to the consciences and hearts of every true friend to his country and to the religion of Christ.

The manifest improvement, from year to year, of the people of color, is most gratifying to their friends. Just in proportion to their advancement in industrial pursuits and moral character, will the day hasten that shall witness the abolition of caste and slavery. The time is rapidly approaching, when facts similar to those we now place on record will be deemed supremely ridiculous. St. Thomas Protestant Episcopal church, in Philadelphia, is composed of some of the most respectable colored people of that city. The Episcopal Convention of the Diocese of Pennsylvania have, for years, had a regulation, which prohibited this church, which has been under the superintendence of the Bishop for more than fifty-five years, from being represented by delegates. During the past year, the Minister, Wardens, and Vestrymen, petitioned the Convention to repeal the regulation. The matter was referred to a committee, a majority of whom not only reported adversely to the prayer of the petitioners, but affirmed that the *color, physical and social condition*, and education of the petitioners rendered them entirely unfit to sit in deliberative bodies!

The Church of St. Philip, in New-York, is not allowed to be represented by its delegate in the Episcopal Convention of that State.

The "National Division of the Sons of Temperance,"* in convention at Boston last year, by a vote of 74 yeas to 6 nays, decided, that "the admis-

* This is the chief and controlling body, and it includes all the Divisions throughout the United States and British Provinces.

sion of negroes into the Order is improper and illegal." They advised that the "blacks" have distinct and separate organizations, as it is the "proper course, as well for the blacks as the whites." Among those who voted for this arbitrary and disgraceful resolution, we see the names of a few who have ranked themselves as Abolitionists, and of some others who profess to be anti-slavery in their views and feelings; but we are assured that the proceeding was hasty, and they deeply regret it. It is said, that a majority of those who are numbered among the yeas are ashamed of the measure, but instead of having the act erased from their journal, think that it is best to consider it null and void, and so allow it to pass into oblivion. We hope they will summon sufficient manhood publicly to reconsider the shameful deed.* The *New-York Evangelist*, remarking upon this disgraceful act, says:—

We hope the Order will be shamed out of its pitiable prejudice, and preserve the manly stand it has once taken on this subject. Most people will think that such delicate fastidiousness of taste hardly becomes an Order originally composed of reformed drunkards. Many of them, noble combatants though they be, are quite too recently from the gutters to make a sneer at colored people look well on their faces. If their reform is but skin-deep, they ought to begin anew; and we are confident that many of the Sons will not be contented with such a shallow species.

We perceive, in the *New-York Tribune* of September 7th, an account of a light colored woman being repelled by the conductor of a Harlem railroad car, and have read with high gratification the noble remarks of the editor of that paper with reference to the outrage. A Justice of the Peace, in Ohio, being offended that a colored child should attend the same school with his own children, sent a written order to the trustees to turn the boy out. When told that he must go, he cried, "My God! will they turn me out of school; will they force me into ignorance?"

Although such treatment of respectable colored persons is not unfrequent in various parts of the country, yet it is acknowledged on all sides that every year bears witness to the increased kindness of the white to the colored population. Some months since, a petition, signed by twenty-five persons of color, was presented to the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, praying for equal political privileges. A Mr. Roll objected to its reception, and demanded the yeas and nays, which resulted in a vote of 76 to 26 in favor of its reception.† The Michigan State Convention have adopted a clause, enfranchising Indians and their descendants, and de-

* The Worthy Chaplains of the National Division are, Rev. Messrs. Stone, of Boston, and Beecher, of Brooklyn, N. Y. They, of course, must feel grieved at such an act, and desire its formal repeal.

† We have received from an eminent citizen of Ohio a letter, of which the following is an extract: "No written report was made by the Committee, I think. If the Convention had intended the right of suffrage to the colored people, it would have defeated the Constitution. The prejudice against it is, however, giving way, and will continue to give way as the dark colored race continue to improve. I should have voted for giving them equal privileges in this and in all other things, for *I can select from the white population more men who are incapable, than I can of blacks in this State.*"

cided to submit to the people the question of extending the privileges of citizenship to the African race.*

It will be in vain that the friends of the colored race labor by precept and example to abolish unjust distinctions in society, unless they seek to elevate themselves, and show by their industry, frugality, temperance and moral deportment, that they are worthy of any position which their white fellow-citizens enjoy. The intelligent of their number have long seen, and are inculcating this truth among the masses, while they are themselves setting a praiseworthy example of intellectual and moral elevation. An American League of colored seamen was formed in New-York last year for mutual benefit, which we hope will be productive of much good. The colored population of the city of Detroit, in 1850, was 1,000. They owned upwards of \$30,000 of real estate, a nearly equal amount of personal property, and upwards of 160 houses on leased lots. There are not more than a hundred, over ten years of age, who cannot read and write.

In the recent Convention of citizens of color, held in the city of New-York, Mr. John Jay Zuille presented highly interesting statistics respecting the education of children. It appears that the educational interests of the colored children are committed to the care of the Public-School Society, the Society for the Promotion of Education among Colored Children, and the Board of Education, and such other institutions as may give free education to children, including the Asylum for Colored Orphans. The whole number of children in school last year was 3,398, being one eighth of the whole colored population of the city. "The schools are open to all—free as the air we breathe."

We find in the *Tribune* of April 16th the following:—

There is now open in Philadelphia, an exhibition of the colored mechanics, on the plan of the Franklin Institute, and for the first effort exceeds the most sanguine expectations of all. On visiting the place I was much surprised to see the beautiful specimens of work exhibited there, which would be a credit to any mechanic. The portrait paintings of Vidal of your city, and Wilson of this, are very creditable. The marine paintings by Bowser are excellent. Dutere, an undertaker, has some fine work in his line. Dr. Rock has some of the most splendid specimens of artificial teeth that we ever beheld, and his recommendations as to character and science we have never seen equalled. There is an invention by Roberts for replacing cars on the track when thrown off, which is quite ingenious. There are many creditable things, such as sofas, spring bedsteads, fancy tables, bonnets, embroidery, stoves, stereotype plates, stone ware, saddles, &c. For the whole, we think that the exhibition reflects credit on the colored people.

In the *Tribune*, of March 4th, is an account of a concert by colored people, interspersed with an address and recitations, "of an order not excelled very recently by any class of the community."

In the *National Era*, of April 24th, is an able article, by the editor,

* In the *Friend of India* is an article, intended to display the evils of caste, and headed, "The Days of Caste Numbered." It has been among the greatest obstacles to the introduction of the gospel, and the fruits of the labors of this Society are beginning to appear in efforts made by American missionaries to abolish caste among persons converted to Christianity by their instrumentality.

on the colored population of the United States, speaking of the progress among the *free* people of color, and proving that the present generation of slaves is much superior to the preceding, as that was to the immediate descendants of the imported Africans. Among the free people of color, the number of property-holders has greatly multiplied. They have more schools, more churches, more benevolent associations, and this in spite of the fact, that never had any people to struggle against such obstacles. The editor argues strongly in favor of the diffusion of intelligence among the masses, and the removal of disabilities which impair their self-respect and weaken their energies, and says: "As they cannot and ought not to be thrust out of our borders, we should attach them to the country by dealing justly with them, and seeking their improvement. 'Here, as in all other cases, justice is wisdom; oppression a blunder, as well as crime.'"

The Constitutions of the free States invariably treat colored people as citizens.* In five of the New-England States they are entitled to vote.† In several States their children mix in the same schools on equal terms with white children. Educated colored men are found in the professions of law, medicine and theology. It is idle to say, that, with the same advantages, the people of color cannot equal the whites in literary, mechanical, and agricultural pursuits, and that they will not make as useful and well-behaved members of the community. Away, then, with the absurd notions of caste, and the prejudices against color, of which semi-civilized nations, and even heathen, are becoming utterly ashamed.

During the last year the Committee sent an agent to New-Mexico to inquire into the state of things, see what could be done to advance the anti-slavery cause, and co-operate with the friends of Freedom in that territory. He is still there, and has communicated valuable information, while he is prosecuting his agency with discretion and ability. It was made part of his duty to circulate an address in English and Spanish, showing the unprofitableness of slave labor, and such other publications as would be useful to the mixed population of that incipient State.

It was the earnest desire of many of the principal inhabitants of New-Mexico that slavery should be prohibited for ever by Congress. One of them, Hugh N. Smith, Esq., who was elected a delegate to that body, strongly recommended the interdiction of slavery, and it is supposed he was refused a seat on that account. Congress, instead of extending the Ordinance of 1787 over the new Territory, left it to the people to decide, when the time shall arrive for the formation of a State government, whether slavery shall be established or not. Nothing contributed more powerfully to this result than the declaration of Mr. Webster in the Senate, that "the law of nature—the law of physical geography—the law of the

* The law of Virginia, of December 3d, 1792, recognizes people of color as citizens. The original law, passed in 1779, contained a distinction of color, but the words "white persons," were stricken out in 1792.

† Connecticut is the exception.

foundation of the earth," excluded slavery from the new Territories.* This declaration was made in the face of notorious facts to the contrary. While the Northern Senator was using his influence against the prohibition of slavery, a Southern Senator frankly avowed the truth. Senator Davis, of Mississippi, acknowledged that the valley of the Gila is rich in gold, and that *slaves will probably be taken there if not prohibited by Congress.*

Energetic efforts are being made to introduce slavery into New-Mexico. The fears and jealousies of the Mexican part of the population are aroused by the assurance of those in favor of the measure that if negro slavery is excluded their system of peonage† will be prohibited; and persons from slave States are moving into the Territory, with their domestic "servants," to familiarize the people to slave labor. It behooves all the friends of freedom in the free States, in their correspondence, by encouragement of the emigration of friends of freedom, and other measures, to strengthen the hands of the opponents of slavery in the new Territory. The eyes of the people of the free States should be fixed on New-Mexico with ceaseless vigilance, lest the enemy take advantage of their supineness and plant slavery in that extensive country so firmly that it will not soon be eradicated. Politicians pretend that the "laws of nature" prevent the introduction of slavery into the Territories of New-Mexico and Utah, but the cupidity and despotism of man triumphs over these laws. From evidence in our possession we know that plans are laid and schemes are on foot for the establishment of slavery in New-Mexico, and that unless the voice of the people of the free States is loud and determined against its extension, it will find a foothold there in spite of the predictions of Mr. Webster and all who take his opinions or the opinions of any aspiring politician for facts.‡

In UTAH attempts will be made, also, to introduce slavery. The *Frontier Guardian*, a Mormon paper, says:—

We feel it to be our duty to define our position in relation to the subject of slavery. There are several men in the valley of the Salt Lake from the Southern States, who have their slaves with them. There is no law in Utah to authorize slavery, neither any to prohibit it. If the slave is disposed to leave his master, no power exists here, either legal or moral, that will prevent him. But if the slave chooses to remain with his master, none are allowed to interfere between the mas-

* It is impossible to restrain indignation at the conduct of Mr. Webster, or to refrain from charging upon him more than upon any other person the triumphs achieved by the Slave Power. There was a juncture when he might by his personal influence have arrested the iniquitous measures for giving slavery a chance of extension over the new Territories, checked the arrogance of the slaveholders in Congress, and given a mighty impetus to the anti-slavery cause. Instead of this—at the exigency, when the eyes of the nation were upon him, and in full recollection of his former declarations on the side of freedom—he astonished the nation by giving in his adherence to the Slave Power!

† This is a species of slavery resulting from debt, and is bottomed upon contract.

‡ Mr. Webster, in a speech delivered at Buffalo, since the above was written, said: "Those who have types at command, have a perfect right to express their opinions; but I doubt their right to express opinions as facts." So, then, none but politicians have a right to express opinions as facts!

ter and the slave. All the slaves that are here appear to be perfectly contented and satisfied. When a man in the Southern States embraces our faith, and is the owner of slaves, the Church says to him: If your slaves wish to remain with you, and to go with you, put them not away; but if they choose to leave you, or are not satisfied to remain with you, it is for you to sell them, or to let them go free, as your own conscience may direct you. The Church on this point assumes not the responsibility to direct. The laws of the land recognize slavery; we do not wish to oppose the laws of the country. If there is sin in selling a slave, let the individual who sells him bear that sin, and not the Church. Wisdom and prudence dictate to us this position, and we trust that our position will henceforth be understood."

We trust that the inhabitants of this Territory, and the emigrants to it, will emulate the conduct of the people of California, and not have occasion to rue the day when they allowed slavery, under any circumstances, to obtain a foot-hold in that region, destined, with free labor, to be an important and flourishing State in the Union.

CALIFORNIA took a noble stand for Freedom. Slavery might have succeeded there better than in New-Mexico or Utah, but the people, many of them emigrants from slave States, knew that its introduction, though it might result in temporary profit, would blast the brilliant prospects of the new State, and therefore unanimously forbade it. The stand taken at the North, which induced slaveholders to believe that the Ordinance of 1787 would be extended over all the new Territories, contributed to this result. The attempt to prohibit free people of color from inhabiting California failed in the Convention for forming the Constitution by a large majority; and the clause prohibiting slavery passed by the vote of every member. The Bill for the admission of California into the Union, with the Constitution she had framed, and the boundaries she had defined, after strong opposition passed the Senate, 34 yeas to 16 nays, the House, 150 yeas to 57 nays, and was signed by the President September 16th, 1850.

Experiments are being made in Jamaica in raising cotton. A field of ten acres was planted, and produced 630 lbs. to the acre. The average crop in our Southern States is 300 lbs. Mr. Blagrove has planted thirty acres. He is a resident proprietor, with means, and his example, says the *Kingston Morning Journal*, will be followed. This plant, as is well known, grows spontaneously in Africa, and we have heard that a cargo of cotton was shipped not long ago from Africa to England.*

The manufacture of flax-cotton has been successfully tested both at Glasgow and Manchester, and the attention of the commercial as well as the philanthropic world is now anxiously directed to this subject. The prospect is, that the use of flax with cotton will materially lessen the consumption of the latter, and of course render slaves and slave labor less valuable. Should the anticipations of the parties concerned be realized, the emancipation of the slaves will be hastened. The Chevalier Claussen

* Our esteemed fellow-countrymen, Messrs. Pennington and Garnett, are now in Great Britain, lecturing for the Free Produce Associations of that country. This is a subject that interests considerable numbers of persons in this country also.

has visited Manchester to make trial of his patent process for spinning flax-cotton. The experiments were said to be highly satisfactory. One of our newspapers states :—

Their complete success would produce a tremendous change in the commerce of the world. Flax is raised in Russia, Great Britain, Flanders, Holland, Egypt, New-Zealand, and Australia, and in all the free States of the Union, who have it in their power, if the new experiment succeeds agreeably to present expectation, to strike a blow at slavery that must result in its overthrow. The best soil in the world for the production of flax is that of the middle and western part of this continent. Over ten hundred thousand cwt. are annually used in Great Britain now, in the manufacture of linen, and the various mixtures of linen and wool; but if the flax fibre could be furnished, as Claussen states, at four pence sterling per pound, and spun by cotton and woollen machines, the consumption of it would be prodigiously extended. It would supplant cotton in many of its most common uses, and in that way work a great revolution.

Mr. Elijah Slack, of Renfrew, Scotland, has invented a machine by which the coarsest hemp, old bagging, jute, &c., are converted into the finest flax and flax-cotton. It is said that his invention has priority to that of Claussen. According to the *Glasgow Saturday Post*, the invention, when fully developed, is calculated to effect a surprising revolution in spinning and weaving manufactures. It is understood from practical parties that the experiments thus far are most satisfactory and conclusive. Our own countrymen do not intend to be outdone in this new enterprise. The editor of the *Louisville Journal* states that he has received from Dr. O. S. Leavitt a beautiful specimen of flax-cotton produced from the common coarse flax, such as is grown in Kentucky for seed. Dr. Leavitt states that it can be produced from unrotted flax, as cheap as cotton, and will run to fine numbers. He has been for several years engaged in making experiments on hemp, and boasts of being in possession of important knowledge on the subject, which is not known to Claussen. We join with tens of thousands in saying, "Speed the Flax-cotton Loom!"

During the visit of our countrymen and friends, Messrs. Pennington and Garnett,* to Germany, the past year, meetings were held on the subject of slavery, and a GERMAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was formed at Frankfort. In 1848 a few individuals in that ancient town, desirous of co-operating in the suppression of slavery, projected an association having this for its object; but owing to political troubles, the matter was postponed. The assembling of the Peace Congress there rekindled their zeal. Mr. Heyden, the first Civic Magistrate of Frankfort, a gentleman well known for his philanthropy, and Dr. Carové, of Heidelberg, a cor-

* These gentlemen are now in Great Britain, laboring zealously and efficiently to promote the anti-slavery cause. Mr. Garnett is lecturing in behalf of an association in England on Free Produce. Dr. Pennington has lectured on that and other subjects. Within a few days we have seen his deed of emancipation. He escaped from slavery twenty years since. Whether living or dead, his former master and his heirs did not know. The administrator was therefore glad to receive \$150 for his emancipation; a cheap price for liberating an American Doctor of Divinity from slavery!

responding member of this Committee, and author of the eloquent address to his countrymen in the United States, published a few years since by our Society, were conspicuous on the occasion. Rev. Louis Bonnet, pastor of the French Protestant Association, was elected President, and Mr. Charles Bourignon, Secretary. A Committee was also formed, to promote as far as possible the disuse of produce cultivated by slave labor.

Our brethren of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have pursued their arduous labors with untiring industry. Their excellent periodical, the *Reporter*, furnishes ample evidence that their watchfulness over the whole anti-slavery field is unceasing and vigilant, that they exert a beneficial influence on their Government, and, in various important respects, uphold the anti-slavery cause throughout the world. Two of their number, Messrs. John Candler and G. W. Alexander, of England, visited this city on their return from an excursion to the West India colonies, to observe the workings of emancipation, and to ascertain the present condition of the people. An interesting account of their journey has been published in the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*. The following remarks are taken from it.

ENGLISH COLONIES.

Of BARBADOES they say: "We think, on the whole, that the physical condition of the Barbadian peasantry, though far from being prosperous, presents an immense gain as compared with the days of slavery, and is calculated to afford satisfaction to the friends of freedom." Of St. VINCENT they remark: "The laborers are said to be *never idle*. They are exemplary in their attendance on public worship, and so far as we are able to judge, their moral condition is more satisfactory than in any other British colony." Respecting ANTIGUA,* it is said: "We expected, morally speaking, more of Antigua than of the other colonies, and found a greater advance in this respect than in most of them. . . . The people have proved themselves good subjects, and they continue to exhibit the pleasing spectacle of an improved and improving community." St. KITTS is suffering on account of lowness of wages, and the unwillingness of planters to sell small portions of ground; and "the moral state of the laborers is, we fear, but little better than their physical and social condition. Of JAMAICA it is said: "One half, at least, of the coffee now exported from Jamaica is said to be raised by the common people. . . . Our progress through the country tended to convince us, that although much depre-

* Mr. Alexander stated that at a dinner at which he was present, a colored man sat opposite the Governor who is a puisne judge and has the title of "Honorable;" also that many born slaves have risen to high stations from the force of talent alone. And we learn from the report of the Governor of Antigua, that a vast majority of the offenses committed are of a light character; that he knows of no peasantry whose condition of life is on the whole superior to that enjoyed by those around him.

sion existed, and all classes shared in the suffering, the distress was far from being so deep and general as we had been led to expect. The planters justly attribute their losses and difficulties chiefly to the operation of our late imperial Sugar Act. We find the free laborers of the British West Indies in a state of comfort that might compare favorably with the working classes of our own country. . . . It is also no small proof of industry that the peasantry have been able to buy tens of thousands of freeholds.”*

We regret that Messrs. Alexander and Candler did not procure and publish the testimony of some hundreds of intelligent persons, in different professions and conditions in life, at the various islands, as to the workings of emancipation in an industrial, educational, and moral point of view; the reasons why the condition of the inhabitants in these respects is not as favorable as was anticipated; and the opinions now held by influential persons in these lands, as to the great benefits that have resulted, notwithstanding adverse circumstances, from the liberation of the black and colored population. Such testimony, accompanied by statements of facts, published in a small pamphlet, and widely circulated, would be of very great service. It would cheer the friends of the negro in their efforts to bring about universal emancipation, and have a tendency to shut the mouths of the enemies of the anti-slavery cause, who continually point to what they consider the injurious results of emancipation in the West Indies, as evidence that freedom has been a curse rather than a blessing to the islands. We hope such testimony will be collected, and given to the world.

It is, we think, deeply to be regretted, that the philanthropic people of Great Britain did not, at an early day, send to the colonies well qualified persons, to introduce improvements in agriculture and the mechanical arts, and aid the emancipated in commencing the new life opened to them by the noble and munificent acts of their Government. What an immense advantage, for example, would the agricultural implements and skill of an English farmer be to the tillers of the soil in Jamaica! What benefit might they have derived from the example, instruction, and assistance of a few practical men sent out to teach them the best modes of securing sufficient quantities of land, cultivating it advantageously, disposing of the produce to the best advantage, &c. The emancipated needed advice and assistance from those who had their welfare at heart, and who had the ability and means to aid them in their industrial pursuits. It is not too

* We have received letters from Mr. Thomas Jones, Secretary of the Barbadoes Anti-Slavery Society, of recent date, giving valuable intelligence respecting the island, and stating explicitly that “emancipation is not a failure in the British West Indies, and especially in this island, but rather a boon of incalculable worth, as well to the planter as to the laborer.” Mr. Jones also furnishes copies of resolutions passed by the Committee of the Society, and at a public meeting, with reference to the Fugitive Slave Act, which seems to have filled the inhabitants of the island, as might naturally be expected, with astonishment.

The *Journal of Commerce* of May, 1850, gives a favorable account of the exportation of produce from Bermuda.

late to commence this labor of love for the thousands who have their liberty, but not the knowledge to use it to the best advantage. The soil is unsurpassed in fertility, but much of it lies waste; and the portion that is cultivated yields but a comparatively scanty supply, owing to the miserable mode by which the negroes have been taught to cultivate it. One English farmer at Jamaica, with suitable means, stock, and implements, on a farm of three hundred acres, with laborers who should be paid adequate wages, might, at the present time, be of unspeakable service to the whole island. His success would attract other farmers, stimulate the well-directed industry of the laboring classes, and hold out inducements for colored laborers in this country to go to Jamaica. We respectfully commend this subject to the attention of British philanthropists, now that appeals are made to the colored people of this country to emigrate to Jamaica.

THE FRENCH COLONIES.

At MARTINIQUE "the Mayor" expressed his great satisfaction at the good conduct of the people, and his astonishment and delight at the result of emancipation: "*C'est magnifique; c'est superbe!*" At GUADALOUPE "a good system of secular education prevails in the large towns, to which the poor of all classes and of every color resort. . . . White, brown and black children sit together on the same forms without distinction, and have the benefit of able teachers."* At DOMINICA the travellers learned that "the laboring population is quite equal to the wants of the colony." . . . In the northeast of the island, where the principal sugar estates are situated, the common people are said to make a good living, and to lay by money.†

THE DANISH COLONIES.

SANTA CRUZ is not yet fully the abode of liberty, but we trust that it soon will be. The proclamation of freedom to the slave population, dated 3d July, 1848, which bestowed unconditional freedom on the slave, has since been repealed. . . . We are confident that their condition (that of the peasantry) is greatly improved since a partial emancipation has been conferred upon them.

Respecting ST. THOMAS it is said, that

The slaves who lived in the town were made unconditionally free; but the slaves

* M. Perrinon, Member of the French Assembly from Guadeloupe, said, in a speech replete with facts, that the negro population had greatly improved in morality since emancipation, and that marriages had increased in a most remarkable manner.

† It will be remembered that the Provisional Government of France decreed the complete abolition of slavery in the French West Indies; and also, that after the expiration of two years, any Frenchman, persisting in holding slaves in any part of the world, should be denationalized. Not long since a proposition was introduced into the National Assembly, to extend the operation of the last provision to ten years, and it passed, we are sorry to say, by a large vote—the Republicans voting against the extension.

who live on the estates in the country, 2,000 in number, are little bettered in their condition. St. Johns contains only 2,450 inhabitants. The estates are good and productive.

We have received communications from Jamaica, giving ample accounts of the island, with reference to its adaptation to the colored population of the United States, accompanied by earnest solicitations that they may be influenced to emigrate thither. This information has been arranged for publication by an intelligent friend, and will soon be given to the public, so that those for whom it was immediately intended will form their own opinion as to the advisedness of adventuring to Jamaica. Meantime we fully agree with the editor of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, when he says :—

No scheme will, or ought to be successful, which does not provide perfect liberty of action to the emigrants, in the selection of their employers and employments, perfect right of locomotion, to go whithersoever their necessities or their inclination may direct, and all the privileges and protection which British subjects can claim from the Government. We counsel our colored friends in the United States not to be led *astray* upon these points, and to listen to none but their friends, when proposals to emigrate are presented to them. They cannot be too cautious how they commit themselves.

The friends of freedom in Canada have recently adopted wise and energetic measures in aid of the anti-slavery cause throughout the world. The "Anti-Slavery Society for Canada" has been formed at Toronto, and likewise a "Ladies' Association." The labors of these societies will be directed, in the first place, to the relief of the large numbers of fugitive slaves from this country, who have been driven away by the Fugitive Slave Bill ; and afterwards to such general objects as they can appropriately attend to, in connection with the emancipationists of this and other lands. We are favored to-day with the presence and co-operation of the Rev. Dr. WILLIS, the esteemed President of the Canada Society, and most cordially welcome him and his coadjutors to the noble field of philanthropy upon which they have entered. The thanks of the friends of freedom and humanity are due to the inhabitants of Canada, for the hospitable and generous aid so freely proffered by them to the suffering individuals and families who have fled to them for succor.

In this connection we are pleased to state that several agents have, during the last year, proceeded to Canada, to exert the best influence in their power over the fugitives that have flocked to that province in years past, and especially those who have gone the last year. They are supplied with the means of instructing the colored population, clothing some of the most destitute fugitives, and aiding them, in various ways, to obtain employment, procure and cultivate land, and train up their children. Our friends in Canada are exerting a good influence in the same direction. We trust the Abolitionists of England will afford their co-operation ; and it may not be improper for us to suggest, that it is highly important that

a plan, on a large scale, should be devised, for the permanent employment of the people of color in Canada, under the direction of competent agents, in agricultural and mechanical pursuits. This will be for their present and future advantage, and the good of the people among whom they have chosen their residence.

Since our last annual meeting intelligence has been received from the Sandwich Islands, that resolutions had been passed by the King, KAMEHA-MEHA, in Privy Council, that all the *government* lands are to be surveyed and laid out into small lots, not exceeding ten acres each, and offered for sale to natives only for the present; and that another act of the Privy Council, of more recent date, sweeps away the last vestige of the feudal tenure, which has proved so detrimental to the interests of all concerned. "It is the crowning act that gives liberty to a nation of serfs."

The African SLAVE-TRADE, although declared by the laws of the United States to be piracy, continues to be carried on; and it is shamefully notorious that Americans and American vessels are largely engaged in it. About a year since three American vessels, captured by British naval ships, were lying at St. Helena, for being engaged in that infamous traffic. Not long after a fourth was added, having on board 11 persons as crew, 30 passengers, and 547 Africans, (441 males, and 106 females.) The name of the vessel last alluded to was Lucy Ann, of Boston, commanded by John Hamilton. As has been usual in such cases, he and the crew were permitted to go on shore unmolested. It is stated in the *Evening Post*, of Feb. 3d, 1851, that out of forty-five vessels engaged in the Brazilian slave-trade, nineteen came from the State of Massachusetts. British war vessels have been vigilant in seizing slave ships, both American and Brazilian, and sending them into port for adjudication, for which they are entitled to the thanks of the civilized world.

It is stated that about thirty thousand slaves are annually brought into Rio de Janeiro, and that the average worth has been estimated at \$175. Mr. Clay, in a speech in the Senate during the last session, on presenting a petition signed by eminent and philanthropic citizens of Rhode-Island, praying for the interference of Congress to put a stop to the African slave-trade, remarked, that 173,000 slaves had been imported into the single province of Rio de Janeiro in 1846-49, and he presumed that as large a number had been imported into other provinces of the Brazilian Empire, as well as the island of Cuba.

On the 4th of September, 1850, a decree in General Assembly was issued by the Emperor of Brazil, Don Pedro, that all Brazilian vessels, found any where, and that foreign vessels coming into Brazilian ports, or anchored in the possessions of Brazil, having slaves on board, will be seized; that the importation of slaves into the imperial territory will be punished as piracy. Whether the Emperor is sincere in his professed efforts for the repression of the slave-trade remains to be seen. The Government of this country has published the following translation of a

communication, addressed by the Chief of the Police at Bahia, Brazil, to the United States Consul at that city :—

In consequence of several commanders and masters of foreign vessels having brought to this port on board of their vessels liberated slaves, (*homens libertos*), probably unaware that such is expressly prohibited by the law of the 7th of November, 1831, I consider it necessary to inform you, in order that you may make it known to the subjects of your nation therein interested, that all commanders, masters and mates, who may bring to this port liberated slaves, not Brazilian born, subject themselves to a penalty of 100 milrees for every person so brought, and also to the expenses of their re-exportation, as directed by the 8th article of said law, and which I intend for the future to have rigorously enforced.

Secretary of the Police of Bahia, Nov. 7, 1850.

The Chief of Police,

To the CONSUL of the United States.

IOAO MAURICIO WANDERLEY.

Slaves, in large numbers, continue to be imported into Cuba, under the connivance of the Governor-General, who receives fifty dollars for each negro. All attempts on the part of Great Britain to secure the execution of the treaty prohibiting this execrable commerce, seem to be frustrated by the Spanish authorities, who, while exhibiting a just indignation against the pirates and freebooters who go from this country to molest them, inconsistently enough, sanction a more atrocious system of piracy carried on by their own subjects.

The slave-trade, it has been often and truly said, will not cease while slavery exists. Wherever there is a market, there will be supplies. Abolish the market for slaves, and the slave-trade will expire of course. After many years of arduous toil to put an end to the slave-trade, Wilberforce and his compeers learned that it was in vain to attempt its suppression while slavery existed. They then bent their efforts to the extinction of the market in the British West Indies. Since then, England has, at immense expense and constant negotiation, been endeavoring to suppress the slave-trade throughout the world; but her efforts have been in vain, and must be while slavery keeps up the demand for slaves. Even if she compels, as she should have done long since, powers with which she has formed treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade to fulfil their obligations, the traffic will not be terminated, for the reasons already stated. In spite of all the treaties that may be negotiated, in spite of all the efforts made in good faith for their observance, in spite of all the cruising squadrons that may vex the seas, while slavery exists and is profitable the slave-trade will be prosecuted. The cupidity of slaveholders will be an over-match for the skill of ambassadors and the prowess of men-of-war.

The slaveholders of the United States, with hypocritical effrontery, profess to be the enemies of the slave-trade. Declamation succeeds declamation from Mr. Clay, and other members of Congress, against the piratical *foreign* slave-trade, while they sustain the *domestic* slave-trade, a crime equally cruel and odious! Even in the capital of the nation, under the very eyes of ambassadors from foreign courts, the manacled slave is bought and sold, driven through the streets, and carried off in chains to all

parts of the slave States. What is stigmatized as *piracy*, if committed on the coast of Africa or on the high seas, is deemed lawful and respectable trade if committed on our own territory, even in the city of Washington ! One of our slaveholding and slave-trading judges may condemn to death a wretched man, convicted of trading in negroes on a foreign shore, while he dreams not that, in the eye of reason and of God, he stands convicted of a similar crime.

The British people are divided in opinion with regard to the CRUISING SYSTEM. The Anti-Slavery Society contend that it increases rather than diminishes the slave-trade, which can only be suppressed, they allege, by an enforcement of treaties, and by the use of steam vessels ; while the missionary societies have petitioned that the squadron on the coast of Africa should not be removed. Sir C. Hotham, one of the ablest commanders ever sent to that coast, has given his deliberate opinion that the slave-trade cannot be essentially crippled or permanently checked while the demand for slaves continues to be so great. He thinks the slave-trade "is entirely dependent upon the commercial demand for slaves, and has little or no connection with the squadron."

The *Edinburgh Review* has an article in the November number, upon the usefulness of the cruising vessels on the coast of Africa, and states the result of its investigation, with the prediction that the withdrawal of the squadron will greatly increase the slave-trade, and produce other disastrous results. The remarkable success of the Kaw-Mendi Mission, under the superintendence of the American Missionary Association, in suppressing war and promoting the arts of peace, demonstrates that nothing short of the benign influences of the gospel, preached by men who consistently recommend peace and temperance, will put an end to the sanguinary wars that prevail among the different tribes, and which, more than anything else, promote the slave-trade. The encouragement of an honest and fair trade with the natives will also lessen the temptation to wage war, will encourage the industry of the people, and lessen the introduction of intoxicating drinks and warlike instruments into the interior of Africa. Christianity consistently exhibited, accompanied by a commercial interchange of *useful* articles, will do more to put an end to the slave-trade than all the cruising squadrons that may be sent to the coast of Africa by both Europe and America.

We believe that the Constitution of the United States, interpreted according to its obvious meaning, is in harmony with the higher law of the Supreme Ruler, and therefore binding upon the people of this nation. What then are its leading features, bearing upon the question now in issue between Slavery and Freedom ?

1. "The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."—*Const. U. S.*, Art. 4, Sec. 2.

Therefore, it is unconstitutional for South-Carolina, or any other State,

to imprison the colored seamen of Massachusetts, who repair to their ports on lawful business, or to expel agents deputed to visit such States to take legal steps to test the constitutionality of their laws for the imprisonment of colored seamen.*

2. "No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."—*Const. U. S.*, Art. 4, Sec. 2.

Mark the phraseology—"under the laws thereof." Said Senator Mason, of Virginia, in debate, alluding to the remarks of another Senator:—

If he means by this, that proof shall be brought that slavery is established by existing laws, it is impossible to comply with the requisition, for no such proof can be produced, I apprehend, in any of the slave States. *I am not aware that there is a single State in which the institution is established by positive law.*

Mr. George Wood, in his argument in the case of the fugitive, Henry Long, admitted the same thing. He said, "Slavery has grown up in this country by usage, and has been recognized as a sort of American common law."† A sort of common law, truly! Is human liberty to be jeopardized under such loose construction of law as this? It will not be pretended that the expression in the Constitution, "under the laws thereof," refers to the common law in its usual acceptation. The framers of that instrument used language, it is universally conceded, with remarkable precision. Had they intended to refer to the common law, would they not have said, "No person held to service or labor in one State under the common or statute law thereof"? The clause in the Constitution applies to all persons legally held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof—to white apprentices; and there is more evidence that the framers of the Constitution meant this clause to apply to such persons than to slaves.‡

The words "slave" and "slavery" do not appear in the Constitution. That instrument does not authorize Congress to legislate on behalf of

* By the laws of Massachusetts, colored men are citizens; they are also citizens by the laws of Virginia; and, in fact, are citizens of all the States, entitled to all the privileges in each State that are accorded to natives of such State of the same description.

† *New-York Evening Post.*

‡ Daniel Webster, in a speech at Buffalo, recently, made an important admission on this subject. He says: "At that day, [when the Constitution was framed,] there was a great system of apprenticeship at the North, and many apprentices at the North, taking advantage of circumstances, and of vessels sailing to the South, thereby escaped. That led to a clear, express, and well-defined provision in the Constitution of the country on the subject."

Another historical fact is found in the *Southern Press*, the acknowledged organ of the slaveholders at Washington, which denies that the article in the Constitution for the reclamation of persons held to service was a concession to the South, or a compromise. It says also, "that, at the very time this Constitution was adopted, and at the very place where it was framed,—Philadelphia,—large numbers of poor foreign emigrants were arriving, who paid their passage by selling their freedom (services) for a term of years. . . . It is manifest, also, that since—as is well known—there was a greater tendency among these white men to 'escape from service' than among slaves, and since these 'Redemptioners' went almost entirely North, it is plain that the provision in the Constitution respecting fugitives from service was even more favorable to the North than the South."

slavery, nor did its framers intend that the Government of this country should ever sanction or uphold it. It is therefore unconstitutional for Congress to make laws for the establishment, regulation, or protection of slavery in any district of the United States or elsewhere; to authorize magistrates to commit to the United States prisons any man suspected of being a fugitive slave, or the marshal to sell at auction such a person for jail fees; or to open negotiations with foreign governments for the recovery of slaves who have taken refuge in Canada or any foreign country or territory.

If, however, this instrument be interpreted by contemporaneous history, let the friends of liberty, as well as the advocates of human bondage, have an equal benefit in such an exposition. How will the case then stand? It is well known that the Convention that framed the Constitution had no intention of guaranteeing, extending, or perpetuating slavery. Even the members from the South were prominent and explicit on the subject. Mr. Webster says, that "Mr. Madison," who was the most eloquent debater in the body, and one of its principal members, "opposed the introduction of the term 'slave' or 'slavery' into the Constitution; for he said HE DID NOT WISH TO SEE IT RECOGNIZED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THAT THERE COULD BE PROPERTY IN MAN."

It is also a matter of history, that, at the adoption of the Constitution by the people of the United States,* it was expected by the whole country, South and North, that slavery would speedily come to an end, by natural causes, the progress of public sentiment, and legislative acts of emancipation. The debates in the State Conventions, the correspondence of eminent men in various parts of the country, the prevailing sentiment of the people at the time, as handed down to posterity, bear witness to the correctness of this statement. Its truth is corroborated by the fact, that societies for the abolition of slavery were formed soon after the adoption of the Constitution, and that several of the most distinguished members of the great Convention that framed it became Presidents of these Anti-slavery Societies.*

Is it said, by the friends or apologists of slavery, that the history of the times shows that slaves were *meant* in the carefully-worded clauses of the Constitution claimed to be compromises or guarantees? The enemies and denouncers of the hateful system prove by the same history: 1.

* It is contended by some, that the Constitution was adopted by the States in their sovereign capacity. This is a great error. For convenience, the people assembled in Convention in each State by their delegates, as they do in each town when called upon to deliberate upon a new form of government; but the Constitution was adopted by the People of the United States. The preamble commences thus: "We, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union," &c. Anterior to the adoption of the Constitution, there was a confederacy of the States, but the adoption of the Constitution put an end to it. Washington, in his Inaugural Address, recognizes this fact.

That it was not intended that slavery should ever extend beyond the old thirteen States; and 2. That it was the general expectation that it would soon be abolished throughout the Union. We contend, then, that whether the Constitution be interpreted according to its letter, or by its letter and contemporaneous history, slavery does not constitutionally exist in that part of the country beyond the boundaries of the old thirteen States, if it constitutionally exists at all. We contend that the inter-State slave-trade, all protection and regulation of slavery or the domestic slave-trade, and all legislation on the subject of fugitive slaves by Congress, as well as all connection with the institution or its adjuncts by the Government, are without constitutional authority. If this be so, what an enormous usurpation has been practised by the Slave Power of this country; how egregiously have a large portion of the people of the free States been deceived; how imperfectly has the Constitution been understood; how unconstitutional have been the acts of Congress on the subject of slavery; and how gratuitously have anti-slavery-men been maligned.

In view of these facts it may be asked, Will the people of this country for ever allow themselves to be misled by demagogues, by false expositions of the Constitution, by absurd exegeses of Scripture on the subject of slavery? Will the people of the free States consent, for all time, that a comparative fraction, who persist in holding their fellow-men as property, under what are falsely called the compromises and guarantees of the Constitution, shall hold up that instrument *in terrorem* over them? Shall Northern demagogues, rightly named dough-faces by their Southern masters, always represent the people of the free States in the Congress of the United States, willingly surrender the interpretation of the Constitution and the administration of public affairs to the Slave Power, and content themselves with the small portion of offices and jobs dealt out to them, as rewards for their recreant subserviency, by an arrogant minority?

The world was given to understand that this government was founded to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty;" not mainly to protect property or enrich the nation, nor to acquire renown by feats of arms. Are we so degenerated, so false to the principles of the Declaration of Independence, so indifferent to the welfare of mankind, so utterly selfish, as to be willing that the world should now understand that this nation will deliberately do what they think will give it the most fame, the most territory, the most money! Are we ready to withdraw our allegiance to God, place ourselves under the dominion of Mammon, and say, "Be thou our god"?

Will the people of the North stand still, and see the anti-slavery band, which so resolutely opposes the existence of slavery, and does all it

* BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was President of the Pennsylvania Society, and JOHN JAY of the New-York Society.

consistently can for its abolition, without coming up to their help, swelling their numbers, and striving to save the country? Let millions of voices answer, NO! Let them exclaim, We will maintain the Union of the States, and the Constitution in its anti-slavery beauty and grandeur, with a firm reliance upon the God of our fathers; we will divorce the General Government from all participation in slavery or the slave-trade, domestic and foreign; no other slave State shall be admitted into the Union; no person held to service or labor shall ever be surrendered without the verdict of a jury; no colored citizen of the North shall ever be imprisoned in Southern ports under unconstitutional enactments; slavery shall be abolished for ever in the District of Columbia, and never curse any of our Territories; the inter-State slave-trade shall cease; and if the slaveholders of the United States persist in holding slaves, in view of the superiority of free over slave labor, against the principles of political economy and the denunciations of Scripture, in spite of warning and entreaty, **THEY WILL DO IT AT THEIR OWN PERIL.**

Nearly eighteen years ago fifty-six men, from different States, met in convention in Philadelphia, formed a National Anti-Slavery Society, and promulgated a Declaration of Sentiments to their countrymen. They were men devoid of political influence, and few had wealth or prominent stations in society. But they had considered the subject of slavery, its opposition to the principles of the government, its inhumanity, its ruinous tendency, the reproach it had brought on the country, and its guilt in the sight of God; and with sincere love to their country, sympathy for their oppressed fellow-men, and reverence for the Governor of nations, they resolved to lift up a voice of remonstrance, entreaty and warning, and to take such measures as were feasible, in the hope that by the blessing of God they should be able to arouse their countrymen to a sense of their iniquity and danger, and induce them to relinquish a system so ruinous to men and so offensive to the Almighty.

The promulgation of these sentiments, and the fearless but discreet advocacy of them, threw the country into great agitation. Slaveholders were exasperated. Northern men with Southern principles, of all professions, sympathized with them. Merchants in the Southern trade became alarmed, and sycophantic politicians were denunciatory. Priests and Levites passed by on the other side. But the truth found its way, and did its appropriate work. Persons connected with slavery saw their error and became zealous emancipationists. Here and there a politician, at the risk of losing his popularity, boldly advocated the cause of freedom. Clergymen, in various parts of the country, dared to be singular and intrepid on the side of human rights. And now we find that the God of the oppressed has opened the eyes of a great multitude of our fellow-citizens to the enormous guilt and danger of slavery, so that men in every profession and position in society are adopting the sentiments and pursuing the

measures of the early Abolitionists. The opposition, however, in the free as well as in the slave States, is strong and virulent. Commercial interests, political ambition, and theological prejudice are arrayed against the cause, and the men who advocate it. But in spite of these, the anti-slavery sentiment is advancing to a glorious consummation.

It is not pretended that the anti-slavery people of this country have been perfect in all their doctrines or measures. Amidst the misrepresentations and opposition of their opponents, the denunciations of men in official stations, the libels of the press, the annoyances to which they have been subjected in their social, business, and church relations, Abolitionists have not been exempt from the infirmities of human nature. Unhappy divisions have occurred in their ranks, and it has been the policy of pro-slavery men to attribute to the whole what are deemed the errors of a few. Still the history of the cause will show that the doctrines and measures of the great body of Abolitionists in this country have been similar to those of their English brethren, and that the opposition encountered here has been like the opposition experienced by Clarkson, Wilberforce, Macaulay, and their coadjutors in their day. It is time that it was well understood that there is error in opposing well-intended plans of reform, fanaticism in abusing reformers, and guilt in standing aloof when men are ready to perish under grievous oppression, when the country is disgraced by upholding slavery and caste, when the Bible is dishonored by pro-slavery expositions, and the ministry and the Church refuse to contend earnestly for humanity.

The Abolitionists of this country, like their predecessors in Great Britain, have been engaged in an arduous, self-denying, and unpopular cause. As a body they have been actuated by high and noble principles. They have devoted strength, expended money, and risked reputation in honest efforts to enlighten their countrymen, and bring about a great moral reformation. Opposed as they have been by those who should have co-operated with them, and forsaken by some who made loud professions of attachment to the cause, they have never despaired of ultimate success. They are as confident now as when the contest began, that by the blessing of God the enterprise will succeed, that victory will crown their efforts, that the enslaved will be emancipated, and the country saved. It behooves them all who aim to discharge their duty, as Christian Abolitionists, in view of the past and the future, to profit by experience, be thankful for all the good that has been accomplished, and in the emphatic language of the aged CLARKSON, "persevere." Let them diffuse, with unsparing liberality, anti-slavery publications, seek for political and church relations in which they can exert an efficient anti-slavery influence, devote their property to the promotion of the cause, and above all, lift up continually their supplications to the Almighty for wisdom from on high.

Anti-slavery truth is pervading the nation. Recreant politicians are

meeting the frowns of betrayed and indignant constituents.* Lower-law ecclesiastics are mistaking the applause of those interested in slavery for the voice of the community, and the people are coming to understand their true interests and their duties. Thus God in judgment is remembering mercy. His promises are sure. "He shall judge the poor of the people; he shall save the children of the needy; and shall break in pieces the oppressor."

In behalf of the Executive Committee,

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Corresponding Secretary.*

* A most signal proof of this truth is found in the recent election of Hon. CHARLES SUMNER to the Senate of the United States, by the unsolicited suffrages of the Legislature of Massachusetts, in opposition to those who, by allying themselves to the Slave Power, to advance their selfish political fortunes, have forfeited the confidence of many who had hitherto delighted to do them honor, and covered themselves with deserved reproach.

BUSINESS MEETING.

A MEETING of the Society was held, agreeably to adjournment, in the Lecture-Room of the Broadway Tabernacle, May 6th, at 9 o'clock A. M. The President, ARTHUR TAPPAN, in the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. H. H. KELLOGG, of Oneida county, N. Y.

Messrs. S. S. Jocelyn, George Trask and Samuel Deming were appointed a Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The Corresponding Secretary stated that Mr. R. G. WILLIAMS, lately deceased, and formerly a member of the Executive Committee, left a legacy of one thousand dollars to this Society; and that he spent considerable time, especially during the last month of his life, in circulating anti-slavery publications, and in benevolent labors among the people of color.

He also presented a manuscript on the present condition of Jamaica, with particular reference to its being an inviting place for colored emigrants from this country, written by Samuel Allison, Jr., of New-Jersey, and at the request of the meeting read a part of it. On motion, it was referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

He stated that a newspaper has been lately commenced in this city in the German language, entitled the *Working Man's Gazette*, edited by a German refugee, who has recently arrived in this country; and that an Anti-Slavery Society has recently been formed at Toronto, Canada West; also, a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association for the relief of fugitives.

On motion, it was unanimously

Resolved, That we rejoice in the formation of these Societies; that we proffer to them our co-operation, and desire their friendly correspondence; and that we tender to the Rev. Dr. Willis, the President of the Anti-Slavery Society of Canada, our thanks for attending the annual meeting and assisting us with his counsel.

The Rev. Dr. WILLIS, being present, addressed the Society in acknowledgment of the complimentary resolution which had been adopted.

He had been present when the Society just mentioned by the chairman was formed; the meeting was the largest ever seen in Toronto; the Mayor of the city had presided. A Ladies' Association, to administer to the wants of poor fugitives, had also been formed, and it was in the most friendly spirit to the United States, that they had thus associated themselves to aid the efforts of the friends of liberty and humanity here; and it was by the use of such moral means as their common Christianity permitted them to employ. We act from no international jealousy. We admire much that is American, though we hate slavery. We, of Britain, were too long in the sin ourselves; we should only, however, be the more earnest in seeking

America to go with us in the repentance and reformation. Noble revolutions you have already accomplished. We, he said, aye, every Briton worthy of the name, sympathized with your struggles which won for you National Independence (Cheers.) None seek to defend the oppression which goaded you. But now we long to see the emancipation of the millions who groan upon your own soil, under the worst of all tyranny. I rejoice that I was present yesterday at your meeting, to hear the facts and reasoning of Mr. Beecher. They have confirmed me in sentiments which I have long held, and especially show that great blame attaches to many of your churches and professed expounders of the Word of God. They had confirmed him, the Rev. speaker continued, in his opinion of the low state of religion and morals in the slaveholding churches of the South; though, strange to say, he had sometimes been met in Britain by the allegation that the religion of those places exceeded the average Christianity of British or Scotch churches. He had believed this to be a rash and groundless statement; but never knew the fact so well as he had now learned it in the presence of the assembled thousands of their enlightened citizens. How could they expect religion to prosper where a system was connived at which withheld the Word of God from millions of rational beings, and blotted out marriage, and practically tolerated licentiousness? He had heard of difficulties which were alleged to stand in the way of religious bodies asserting the whole truth. But he knew of no excuses which should be sustained for the neglect of the obvious duty of churches to remonstrate and expostulate with the framers of these laws. Had they done so? Were they not neglecting an obvious obligation in not doing it, and not persisting in doing it till their voices should be heard? Oh, he knew not what to think of this enormous guilt, and the affecting apathy which it bespoke! Some one, speaking of war, had remarked on the strange circumstance that familiarity with the accounts of military dispatches made many think so little and feel so little in reading of thousands falling in one day the victims of the sword while a tale of a solitary murder, or one death by violence, often called forth a larger amount of feeling. It seemed as if the magnitude of a moral evil, too, lessened the sense of it. As he looked at the noble scene yesterday,—at the three thousand who composed the respectable and truly intelligent-looking assembly,—Now, he reflected within himself, what would a slaveholder, a professing Christian slaveholder, say, if he pointed even to as many as these three thousand and were to say, From so many is cruelly withheld the blessed Word of salvation, for which you profess to bless God every day that you and your families possess it? Even of three thousand, met together, the sight is almost fitted to awe one accustomed to address his fellow-men; but could he have pointed to a thousand times three thousand, for that is the amount, and said, These, these millions are, by your inhuman laws, degraded morally as well as physically; doomed, he had almost said damned, as far as the law of man could so consign and doom them, to spiritual ignorance; who, who could stand up to plead for such a law? But especially could any man pretend Bible authority for planting himself between his fellow-creatures and the God who made him, and saying in effect, You shall not know that Word, which to know and search is the command of the world's Saviour?

Dr. Willis entered on the argument from the Old Testament sometimes alleged in favor of slavery. So far as such a system existed with the Almighty's approbation, it was by a limited and temporary permission. It bore no resemblance to the modern slavery which it was quoted to sanction, and any modern nation, not having a commission as direct as the Jews, to execute God's judgments on another nation, would in vain plead such a precedent against the obvious bearing of the law of nature, God's own moral law, to do justly and to love mercy. They might as well quote the command to exterminate the Canaanites as a precedent for invading at their pleasure, and annihilating, any contemning, unoffending people. He needed not to add anything to what was so well said yesterday in exposition of the law of the New Testament. The Epistle to Philemon had been rescued from the cause of the slaveholder, which assuredly it had never been intended to serve. Its whole spirit was repugnant to every thing not reconcilable with the love of the Christian brotherhood, and it should never be forgotten that the servitude against which they were contending was forced servitude, and servitude on conditions incompatible with equity, with the recognition of the rights of conscience, and of the rights of humanity. What resemblance had slavery like this to the willing return of Onesimus to a master of whom Paul said that he would even do more than he asked in promoting his well-being as a brother in the Lord?

He was happy to say that he had not heard of any case of crime or depredation justly chargeable to the fugitives in the district in which he resided. They felt too

grateful to be offenders, and their own people freely aided them according to their ability. Dr. Willis said, some persons in Canada had prejudices against colored people, and spoke of their bad conduct in some districts. He always, in reply, asked if an equal number of white people, in the same districts, were not called up to the bar for offenses; and if the blame, when offenses were committed, should not be thrown chiefly upon those who had oppressed them? Dr. Willis said that he had been asked in Canada, Why do you form Anti-Slavery Societies here? His answer was, We have to attend to these poor refugees as men and as Christians; we have to do with it in self-defense. In these days of telegraphic communication, when men are brought so near together, we feel that those who have lived at a distance from each other form one community, and that they have moral as well as commercial relations.

He said there had been some difficulty in Canada about colored children attending the same schools with white children. In consequence of this, a Society had been formed at Toronto, under the auspices of the Synod with which he is connected, to purchase land, encourage the people of color to settle on it, have their own schools, &c. This was not done to effect a permanent separation between white and colored people. The white people living near the proposed location were stirred up to opposition, and bloodshed was threatened if the colored people should form a settlement near them. But the Synod disregarded it; they persevered, and the threats subsided. And now, instead of treating the colored people coldly, the whites are seeking access to the schools, so that, at the present time, one half of the children are white. Dr. Willis concluded by assuring the meeting of the continued sympathy and co-operation of the Society which he represented, and sat down amid the cheers of the auditory.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated letters from Thomas Jones, Esq., Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society in the island of Barbadoes, containing resolutions adopted with reference to the Fugitive Slave Law; the resolutions adopted at a public meeting in the island on the same subject; and interesting facts in relation to the workings of emancipation, and the present condition of the island.

A resolution was offered respecting the American Home Missionary Society, which affords aid, it is said, to sixty-three ministers who preach to slaveholding churches. Rev. GEORGE WHIPPLE said, that being the Secretary of another Missionary Board, he felt some delicacy in speaking on this subject. For years he had been distressed at the attitude assumed by the Home Missionary Society, the A. B. C. F. M., the Sunday-school, Bible, and Tract Societies, with regard to slavery, and he had been anxiously hoping that they would do something effectual in aid of the great cause of emancipation. But it was in vain. They did nothing. If a thousand dollars were offered for a prize essay on the sinfulness of American slavery, the Tract Society would not publish it. And he did not see how these Societies could do otherwise, so long as they maintained their connection with slaveholders. It is not known that one of the missionaries of the Home Missionary Society in slave States dares present slaveholding as a barrier to Christian communion. They believe that taking that ground would exclude them altogether from preaching in a slaveholding community.

Mr. J. BIGELOW, of Washington City, said he had lately made application to the Home Missionary Society for aid in organizing a new Congregational church in that city, which had been refused on the

ground that they did not afford aid to such enterprises where there were church organizations in the same place to which they could have access. And yet, he said, that Society gave aid to two slaveholding churches in Washington.

REV. MR. COLVER, of Boston, said, that he believed every Missionary Board had the power to control the action of its missionaries, and they found no difficulty in doing it, except in cases connected with the slavery question. They can say, You must not tolerate Mohammedanism, polygamy, &c.: why not include slavery? If any people to whom they preach will not receive such a gospel, let the missionaries shake off the dust of their feet and leave them. He stated what his own denomination, the Baptist, had done. They had taken strong ground, and slaveholders had to submit to it. If a Board will not do this, they are traitors to the cause of Christ. For one, he would not stay where he could not preach a whole gospel. No man or society has any right to let the gospel down to suit wicked men. He related a conversation he had lately held with a non-professing lawyer, who told him that the conduct of the Societies named was making infidels faster than they made Christians; and also the remark of two young men, of good moral character, and from orthodox families, who attended on the preaching of a man who was ardently engaged in the anti-slavery cause, but whose doctrinal opinions were very unsound,—that they preferred infidelity with humanity to orthodoxy without it.

MR. WHIPPLE, after some explanation, moved the following resolution as a substitute for the other, and it was adopted:—

Resolved, That Arthur Tappan, Dr. Lansing, and G. Whipple, be a committee to address a memorial on behalf of this Society, to Missionary Societies that aid churches or ministers in States or Territories where slaveholding prevails, praying them to refuse aid to ministers or churches that do not practically treat slaveholding as other known sins.

The Committee on Nominations made a report, which was accepted and the following persons were appointed officers for the ensuing year:—

President.—ARTHUR TAPPAN.

Vice Presidents.—F. JULIUS LE MOYNE and WILLIAM JAY.

Corresponding Secretary.—LEWIS TAPPAN.

Recording Secretary.—C. B. RAY.

Treasurer.—WILLIAM E. WHITING.

Executive Committee.—ARTHUR TAPPAN, S. S. JOCELYN, WILLIAM JAY, LEWIS TAPPAN, WM. E. WHITING, JOSHUA LEAVITT, LUTHER LEE, S. E. CORNISH, JAMES WARNER, ALEXANDER MACDONALD, ARNOLD BUFFUM, GEORGE WHIPPLE, THOMAS RITTER, J. W. C. PENNINGTON, E. D. CULVER, D. C. LANSING, WM. B. COLLINS, CHARLES PARKER, A. E. EVEREST.

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Rev. A. E. EVEREST, Pastor of the Colored Church in Prince street, Brooklyn, offered the following resolution:—

Resolved, That it is our duty to oppose, with more than usual energy, the extraordinary efforts now making by Colonizationists, inasmuch as they are founded in the most unjust prejudices against the colored people.

The mover, and Mr. GEORGE DOWNING, supported the resolution, after which it was adopted.

Rev. H. BELDEN, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:—

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be requested to take into consideration the propriety of having the next annual meeting commence in the forenoon of the second Tuesday of May.

Rev. Mr. TRASK, of Massachusetts, made some remarks on the importance of reviving prayer-meetings among anti-slavery people. Mr. HOWE, of New-Jersey, spoke of the importance of Abolitionists contributing more liberally to the treasury of the Society.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Rev. Dr. Willis, and Rev. C. G. Finney, for the addresses made by them at the anniversary, and that they be requested to furnish them for publication.

Adjourned.

(Attest.)

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Secretary pro tem.*

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